

## INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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# INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Being an account of the Two Voyages to  
India by Ovington and Thevenot. To which  
is added the Indian Travels of Careri

Vol. I

## A VOYAGE TO SURATT IN THE YEAR 1689

by

J. OVINGTON

*Edited with an Introduction by*

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# John Ovington by J. P. Guha

THE LIFE of John Ovington does not afford much scope for the biographer; the materials of his life are both scanty and unexciting. It is therefore difficult to say much about what John Ovington did. Nor is it easy to expatiate about what he wrote for he wrote very little. *A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689* is the only book by which he should be alive today; his reputation as a sermon writer and a writer of pamphlet is a matter of antiquarian interest. Mr. Rawlinson in his scholarly edition of *A Voyage to Surat* has evidently taken this view. Under the circumstances I shall follow Rawlinson and simply go about it and about.

John Ovington was born at Melsonby, near Darlington in Yorkshire in 1653. He was educated at the Grammar School of Kirby Ravensworth. At the age of fifteen he was entered as a sizar at Trinity College, Dublin, from where he took his B.A. degree. Three years after he took his M.A. Thereafter John Ovington entered again as a sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge. He matriculated on 3rd July 1680 obviously with the intention of taking a degree *ad eundem*. We do not know if he had taken a degree. Information about him in the University records is entirely absent. Nor do we know where or when he was ordained but we may guess that this must have been when he left Cambridge.

In 1639 John Ovington was engaged as a casual chaplain of the East India Company's vessel the *Benjamin*; and in the same year on April 11 (the Coronation Day of William III) he set sail from Gravesend. The *Benjamin* reached the harbour of Bombay on May 29. From Gravesend to Bombay had been an uneventful voyage. The *Benjamin* touched at Madeira, where Nature displayed to them "a scene of joy and love"; at the tiny island of Annobon; at Melemba on the coast of Africa,

near the mouth of Congo River; and at St. Helena where they were entertained by several French Protestants. Then rounding the Cape and narrowly escaping shipwreck off the coast of Madagascar, the island of Johanna was reached in safety, the chief of the Comoro Islands, well known in those days as a port of call. From Johanna they reached Bombay well before the burst of the south-west monsoon.

Ovington saw Bombay in 1690. The account that he has given of this city is of great interest to every student of Indian history. It will be recalled that Bombay was ceded by the Portuguese to Charles II in 1661 and was handed over to the East India Company by the Crown in 1668. George Weldon was Governor when Ovington arrived. Though the city was greatly developed by General Aungier (1669-77), when Ovington arrived, the city appeared to him to be a pestiferous spot. The reason is, Aungier's schemes of colonization had not been successful. The settlers, Ovington tells us, were "debauched broken tradesmen and renegade seamen". The young women who were brought by the Company in order that the English might remain away from the Portuguese and natives had either deported or become prostitutes. "I cannot without horror mention," says Ovington, "to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place. . . . Luxury, immodesty and a prostitute dissolution of manners found still new matter to work on." In addition, the island of Bombay was unhealthy caused no doubt by swamps and the habit of manuring the coconut plantations with putrid fish. It is therefore no exaggeration when Ovington refers to the common saying that at Bombay "two mussouns are the age of man". Thus during Ovington's short stay in the harbour twenty out of twenty-four passengers and fifteen of the crew died. The rest regained a new lease of life the moment they were at sea. No wonder, Bombay was a pestiferous spot.

About the middle of September 1690 "when the mussouns were broken up" the *Benjamin* weighed anchor to set off on a long coasting voyage to Achin and the Straits of Malacca, while Ovington stayed at Surat to officiate as chaplain of the English Factory. Bartholomew Harris was then the President of the English Factory at Surat. Unlike Bombay, Surat was a

prosperous town "more populous than any part of London". In the centre of the town was situated the castle of the Mughal Governor who determined what the English Factors should do or not do. About the Factors Ovington says that they lived in considerable pomp, dined together in a common hall, attended daily service in the chapel and went abroad in stately procession.

Ovington was an intelligent as well as a diligent observer and had, I may add, a strongly marked taste for curious details. We get many information about the inhabitants of Surat—the Moors, the Bannians, and the Persies. He does not forget to mention the Faquirs whom he saw near Surat. Nor does he forget to refer to the Halalchors (Eat-alls), a word which is said to have been invented by Akbar.

Ovington left India in February 1692/3. In his return voyage he landed at the Cape and after touching at the island of Ascension he reached Kinsale. From there he went safe to Gravesend from where he had started his voyage two and a half years earlier.

Ovington's voyage to India paid him dividends. Upon his return the Company offered him to serve as chaplain on a permanent basis but Ovington chose to remain in England and devoted his leisure to write *A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689* which appeared in 1696. The book made him well known to the English readers as well as among the official circle of the East India Company as is evident from the following entry in the Court of Minutes of April 16, 1697:

*It is ordered that a warrant be made out for twenty five pounds to Mr. John Ovington, late Chaplain at Surrat, being so much thought fit to be paid him for two wolf-dogs by him procured and sent from Ireland to Surrat at the desire of the late President, and for a booke by him written and presented to the Company, called a Voyage to Surrat.*

*A Voyage to Suratt* was a popular travel-book of the period and even today we need no excuse to reopen the book. The book is packed with shrewd and ingenuous observations about men and manners of Western India. About its contemporary popularity we may get some idea from the praise that it received from Nahun Tate (1652-1715), the poet laureate and joint author with Dryden of the famous satire *Absalom and Achitophel* (Second Part):

*You have so lively your Discoveries writ,  
 We read and voyage with you as we sit,  
 With you horse sail and reach the Indian  
 The real scene cou'd scarce delight us more.*

In 1699 Ovington published a pamphlet entitled *An Essay upon the Nature and Qualities of Tea* to popularise its use which was then the novel beverage and which Ovington had tasted while at Surat. We know that the pamphlet was severely criticised by one John Waldron whose coarse gibes end thus:

*Wise Ovington deserves green bays,  
 For praising brightly foreign Tear;  
 But, were we wise, Ovington's Tea  
 W'ould be transported over Sea.*

Ovington was then the Chaplain to His Majesty In 1701 the University of Dublin honoured him with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and in the same year Dr. Ovington was presented to the Crown living of St Margaret's, Lee, Kent, where he remained rector until his death in June 1731.

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# A Voyage to Suratt

ON April the 11th, 1689 the memorable day, whereon their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary were crowned, did the ship *Benjamin* break ground from Gravesend, towards her intended voyage to Suratt in the East Indies. Whither she was sent as an advice-ship of that wonderful revolution, whereby their sacred Majesties were peaceably settled in the throne, and had been received with the universal joy of all the nation. In all places where we came, we were welcomed with loud and chearful acclamations, and were entertained with unusual congratulations and respect, as happy messengers of as grateful news, as ever arrived in those parts. They were every where truly sensible of their unexpected deliverance from that misery and thralldom which even there threatened them, and likewise of the invaluable blessing of living under a peaceable Government, free from their former apprehensions, either of violence upon their temporal enjoyments, or disturbance to the tranquillity of their minds.

We had not long left the Lands-End of England, before we espied a great fleet of ships, which appeared to us at a distance like a floating forest, and seized us with no little consternation. Their lying off not far from Brest, made us for some time conjecture them to be French, till we were happily undeceived by the approach of an English frigot, which discovered them to be friends. However, one of our company, who had faithfully ingaged to stand by us, whose assistance we depended, without any ceremony, being apprehensive of the danger, clapt upon a wind, and so left us.

After this, we kept on our course with a favourable wind, till we arrived at Madeira, a small island appertaining to the Crown of Portugal, situated about the two and thirtieth degree of latitude; it is in length, about twenty-five miles, about eight or ten broad, and sixty in its circumference.

## THE ISLAND OF MADEIRA

THIS Island, as we are informed by good historians, was first discovered by John Gonsalvo and Tristan, under the patronage of Henry Infanto of Portugal. But the present inhabitants give us a different account of its discovery, viz. that in the year 1344 an English gentleman, having married a lady of a considerable fortune, and setting out with her for France from the port of Bristol, was by gusty weather, and opposite winds, driven into this island. where, upon his landing, finding it a forlorn place both uncultivated and unpeopled, he fell into an extream fit of melancholy, and yielding too much to that black distemper, contributed by his own death to make it still the more desolate. The mariners however, who were not so readily dejected at this misadventure, set sail with their vessel, and landed safely on the coast of Barbary. where, after some refreshment and respite upon the place, they fortunately fell into the company of some ingenious Portuguese; to whom, *after a little conference, they related the hardships of the voyage, the situation and native pleasantness of the uninhabited, but most habitable island they had left, and the just hopes and prospect they had of regaining a sight of it, were they but provided with ships and men.* This excited the attention of the Portuguese, and likewise, without much reluctancy, procured their promise of endeavouring with their prince to incline him to hearken to these proposals, and likewise to equip them with necessaries and conveniences for a second undertaking: and succeeding with him according to their wishes, they set forward, found the island, landed their men, and in a short time converted the wilderness into a garden of pleasure.

Some say Madeira was discovered by the Portuguese, in Anno 1420, and derived its name from the abundance of wood that grew there. It was overspread with wildernesses and plenty of trees. (which gave it this name,) as with one intire wood; the tedious thoughts of cutting down which, perswaded them to a more speedy method of destroying it by fire. After it was kindled, the flames grew to such a head, raged so violently, and by degrees became so furious. that the

people were forced for their ease and preservation, to betake themselves to the water, to avoid the violence of the heat.

The remaining ashes contributed so much to the fertility of the ground, that it at first produced sixty for one, the fruitful vines brought forth more grapes than leaves, clusters of two or three spans length; and in all its products, their beauty and fertility were so remarkable, that it gained the title of the Queen of Islands.

The air here, to which the pleasure as well as health of humane life is so much owing, is generally very temperate and undisturbed, and the heavens smiling and serene. For those climates which are placed between the thirtieth and fortieth degrees of latitude, enjoy a temperature, generally very equal and convenient, infested neither with the excess of heat, nor rigid coldness, but moderately participating of those troublesome extremes. They seem indisputably to be most suited to the pleasantness of humane life, and accommodated to our constitutions, affording that delight to the body, which virtue imparts to the mind, in avoiding all excesses, as dangerous and ungrateful, and opposite to the ease, as well of the sensitive, as intellectual part.

The principal town is Tunchal or Tonzal, some of them term it Funchal, from the abundance of fennel which they say grew there. 'Tis the sole place of trade, from whence they export all their wine and their sugar, which is esteemed superior to any in the world.

The adjacent rural places are very mountainous; but however, they rival the valleys in fruitfulness and delight; the both are much fallen from their primitive fertility, and instead of sixty for one, which was the original increase, have gradually descended to twenty-five. Seven or eight rivers with variety of rivulets refresh the place, which fall down from the mountains, which, notwithstanding their height and steepness, are planted and improved, as well as the most champaign ground in England. At the utmost top of the high hills, the corn thrives well, but the abundance of clouds that breed there, are prejudicial to the grapes.

The main product of the island is grapes, brought hither first from Candy, of which there are three or four kinds, where-



of they make their wine. One is coloured like champaign, of little esteem; another is more strong and pale as white wine; the third sort is rich and delicious, called Malmsey; the fourth is Tinto, equalling tinto in colour, but far inferior in taste; it is never drunk unless in other wines, with which it is mixt to give them a tincture, and to preserve them. And for fermenting and feeding them, they bruise and bake a certain stone, called Jess, of which nine or ten pounds are thrown into each pipe. The Madeira wine has in it this peculiar excellence, of being meliorated by the heat of the sun when it is pricked, if the bung-hole being opened 'tis exposed to the air.

The product of the vine is equally divided between the proprietor and him that gathers and presses the grapes; and yet for the most part the merchant is thriving and rich, whilst the grape-gatherer, employed by him, is but poor. Among the merchants, the Jesuits are none of the meanest, who every where contend for precedence in fortune, as well as in place; and have here secured the monopoly of malmsey, of which there is but one good vineyard in the whole island, which is entirely in their possession. Twenty thousand pipes of wine, by a modest computation, may be reckoned the annual increase of the grapes, which number is thus exhausted and spent. Eight thousand are thought to be drunk upon the island, three or four are wasted in leekage, and the remainder is transported, most of it to the West Indies, especially to Barbadoes, where it is drunk more liberally than other European wines.

Plenty of citrons grow here, of which the natives make a delicate sweetmeat, called Sucket; and load with it yearly two or three small ships for France. The sugar which in candying them they make use of, and is often effectually prescribed against consumptions, is but rarely transported, because of its scarcity, which hardly supplies the necessities of the island.

They are some years under great want of corn, because the grain that grows here produces no great plenty; so that sometimes they are threatened with famine: for prevention of which, while I was there, they used their authority in pressing ships which anchored in the road, and commanded them, before they would allow them any commerce, to the Azores Islands, to import a quantity for their subsistence.

This island affords store of peeches, apricocks, plumbs, cherries, figgs, and walnuts; and the English merchants, allowed to reside and traffick here, have transplanted from England currants, gooseberries, philberts, &c. which are more kindly entertained in this soil, than many of their fruits are with ours, whose coldness and moisture are not so proper for the pregnancy of the fruits of a hot climate. The Bonanoe is with them in singular esteem, and even veneration, affecting the palate with that sensible sweetness, that it gains with them the credit of being the forbidden fruit. And for confirmation of this surmise, they produce the extent of their leaves, which being of a large size, they infer from thence, their fitness to make aprons for Adam and Eve, to veil their nakedness. It is almost a crime inexpressible to cut this fruit with a knife, which after dissection gives a faint similitude of our saviour crucified; and this they say is to wound his sacred image. Oranges and lemons abound here in that plenty, that I have seen them drop into our dishes, as we sat at dinner under their delightful boughs, and opportunely prevented the trouble of rising up to pluck them, by freely offering themselves to our wants. And these, tho they are in my opinion as inviting as their celebrated fruit, and yield as useful and kind refreshment to the stomach, must yet not be suffered to vie in delicacie with their venerable admired Bonanoe, which by the awful impressions of a powerful priest upon the thoughts of the vulgar, commences sacred, and must not be violated by the bold attempt of any weapon upon it.

The English merchants here, which are not reckoned above a dozen, imitate the English way of living in their city and country houses; and, wearied with the town, divert themselves in their rural plantations, to which they gave us English that were strangers a solemn invitation; and placed us under the spreading boughs of oranges and lemons, with living springs under their refreshing shade. Nature here displayed to us a scene of joy and love, and waited on us in all her pomp, in all the delights and beauties of the field. The hills were all covered with vines, and the valleys with ripe grapes, which yielded us a fragrant smell from the fruitful vineyards. The groves and woods were all sprightly and gay, nothing seemed to us droop-

ing or languid, but all things smiled round about the place of our entertainment. The air was clear, and made melodious by the voice of birds. The ships and ocean were at a convenient distance, whereon we looked, and still new charms sprung from that admirable variety of objects, whither soever we turned our eyes, and all things conspired to yield together a ravishing satisfaction to our senses. Thus we spent the day in abundance of delight, happy and retired from melancholy and all disturbance.

The ordinary food of the poorer sort, is little else in the time of the vintage, but bread and ripe grapes; which simple nourishment affords sufficient pleasure and delight, when it meets with true hunger, which never fails of cooking the meat with a gusto for the palate. For pulses and leguminous food, as it was a great part of the diet of our forefathers and antediluvian patriarchs, and very congenial to the nature of man; so is this spare food, with a very moderate mixture of flesh, the frequent repast even of those here of better note, who find it easily elaborated and transmitted in such manner as is proper for digestion; who thereby preserve their bodies in health and strength, and keep the crases of the parts pure, which are otherwise perverted by intemperance. And were it not for this great abstinence in eating, the danger of fevers in the hot season would be rarely avoided, and the venereal excesses to which they are strangely addicted, with the immoderate heat of the place, would be apt to put Nature under various disorders. Therefore men of the greatest consequence and fortune, (whether it be that sobriety might render them more spruce and amorous for the exercise of love, or that they are bred up in an antipathy to that gross and scandalous vice of drunkenness,) seldom exceed the allowable bounds of drinking and accustom themselves to a very spare diet. Nor are they apt to impose their wine upon others in their ordinary computations; but the servant attending holds the bottle in his hand, and delivers the glass to him that drinks, to receive from the servant's hand, who pours out leisurely what the guest pleases, either a larger or a less quantity; by which means he that is intent upon drinking, may take his liberty, and he that is willing to refrain, is not forced. When the company breaks

up, the porches and entries of the houses, and particularly the private place behind the door, are allowed for the convenience of urine; because that action in the streets is reputed indecent, and liable to the censure of drunkenness.

The people very much affect a gravity in their garb, and are clothed all in black, in complaisance (as I imagin) to the sacerdotal function, and the better to ingratiate with that profession, which challengeth so much authority among them. But they cannot live without the gallantry of wearing the spado and the dagger; those inseparable adjuncts, even of servants attending their masters at the table, who proudly strut with the dishes in their hands, in that solemn garb, with a basket hilt to a sword at least a yard long, even in the midst of summer.

Their houses too, as well as cloaths, are made without much expence or splendour; neither curious by the embellishments of art without, nor rich in trappings and furniture within; some of them shoot up a little in height, without any other characters of greatness: the generality of them are flat-roofed, and all of them give admittance to the open air thro the windows, which, being without the use of glass, are kept open all the day, and closed by wooden shutters at night.

The soil allows no venomous inhabitant, nor creature of no infectious malignity, which whether it is peculiar to the earth or air, or derivable from some other cause, I know not; who found nothing in this place different from the disposition of others of the same climate.

The qualities of all poisons are affirmed by some to be either hot and inflaming, as euphorbium; or cold, as opium; or dry, as vitriol; all which qualities may be found in the elements here, as well as in other regions, and therefore apt enough to supply matter for all venomous animals, which for this reason might be presumed to be found here; and much rather than in the kingdom of Ireland, which is a country of noted humidity; and so poisons, they say, are simply humid, because humidity is a quality purely passive, and of itself incapable of causing pain. Lizards, of which they have here an infinite number, are very destructive to their fruits and grapes, and mighty devourers of whatever they light upon. But snakes and toads, of which

in the Indies are such innumerable multitudes, find here no entertainment; there they haunt the chambers and private apartments of the inhabitants, lurk frequently in the roofs of their houses, as well as in the grass; sometimes they espy them in their chambers and about their beds, in the walls and ceilings of their lodgings, and in the dark corners of their vaults and cellars.

The fertility of this island is much abated from what it was in the time of its first plantation, and the constant breaking up of the ground has made it in many places feeble in its productions, so that it wholly discourages their labours, till it has lain fallow for three or four years; after which time, if there springs up no broom, as a token of its following fruitfulness, they desist from all their hopes of its fertility, and conclude it quite barren. The present barrenness of much of their land, reminds them of the growth of their vices, to which they ingenuously ascribe it. Among which, their effeminate lewdness may very well stand in the front of their accusations, which prevails not a little, even among those whose double obligations, of Christians and married persons, should mightily deter them from that sin; especially considering how they may satisfy all their desires at home, and double their pleasure by their innocence. But vagrant lusts, like other fires, when they once get head, are not easily tamed and stifled, till they consume those materials that feed them. This inconstancy in the husband encourages (tho it cannot legitimate,) the same levity in the wife, the weakness of whose sex is not so much proof against the charms of alluring temptations. Therefore are the women here as apt to defraud their husbands, as the husbands are to defraud their wives, and both equally kind to strangers, especially the women, whose proneness that way, is more excited by their being cloistered and kept in, and restrained from all company. Their appetites are augmented by difficulties, and increased by being opposed:

*Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet acruis urit.*

This made Lycurgus enact a decree for keeping up matrimonial affection, 'that married persons should be as cautious as celibates to enjoy one another, and never do it but by stealth.'

Another reason that offers for their mutual infidelity, is the ignorance they have of each others personal humours, and unacquaintance with their dispositions before marriage, which sometimes is celebrated before a mutual interview has preceeded the engagement. Whereas a competent time of courtship and frequent visits gives them some inspection into each others genius and inclinations, engages their mutual passions and good liking, by their constant endearing presents and conversation, which by degrees unites their hearts, and ripens their affections for a happy marriage. For which purpose it is practised in some parts of the world, in the very minority of their children, who are engaged by contract at the years of five or six, as in the Indies.

During our stay upon the island, a young gentleman of an advanced fortune, which was valued at 60,000 dollars, was engaged in the courtship of a lady of 8,000, and proceeded to marriage, without the opportunity of one sight of her before the solemnity, besides what was allowed him the day before. He was then, as it happened, in the company of her brother, and espied through a lattice two young ladies, and imagining one of them to be his mistress, was curious to enquire, whether of them it was? To which he received no more satisfaction, than, 'Tomorrow, Sir, is time enough for that.'

In treating about marriage, their principal enquiries are into the family and descent of the courtier, for prevention of all occasions of the detestable affinity with Moors and Jews, which among them are very numerous. To join in matrimony with any of them, is esteemed a debasement of her lineage and extraction, especially in a woman that pretends to family and education. But the English merchant is on the other side as reputable, and stands as fair in their accounts; his very name makes way for his admittance, and incorporating into the best families, especially if any equality appears in his fortune; for their subtle casuists make sometimes an inequality of fortune a just plea for dissolving a contract. But then, alas! the English merchant, if he marries, must first renounce his religion, and abandon the care of his soul, for the enjoyment of her in whom he delights. But that which much surprized me, was the prohibition of an old gentlewoman, to the proceedings of a young

pretender to her daughter, upon this account; because she was informed of the health and soundness of his constitution, of the moderation and chastity of his manners, so that he was never known to labour under any venereal disease; which she concluded to arise only from the weakness of his constitution, for it seems she presumed there was no need of the restraints of conscience for so venial an offence, the committing of which, in her opinion, was meritorious.

The execrable sin of murder has gained too not only an impunity but reputation among them, and it is made the characteristick of any gentleman of rank or fashion, to have dipt his hands in blood. To this they frequently are obnoxious, and readily incline, by reason of the easie recourse they have to their churches, which shelter them from any process, and are met with at every turn. For in the metropolis, Tunchal, which exceeds not a good country town, are almost twenty churches and chappels, besides abundance in their country plantations. These Christians are as licentious in committing this crime, as remiss in inflicting due penalties for it, and indulge the guilt of it, even beyond what the Almighty did the Jews, though it is voluntary, by sparing the criminal if he can lay hold on the horns of the altar; and make banishment or confinement his utmost penalty, both which by a large present are bought off.

The numbers of their clergy increase here, as well as in other Popish countries, even to the oppression of the laity, with whom they seem to vie for multitude. It is scarce imaginable, how so many rich ecclesiasticks can be supported by the labours of so few people. But to abate this wonder, they tell us, that none of their nation is admitted to the priesthood, who is not possessed of some patrimony, to avoid a burthen to the church. They are totally averse here from admitting any into Sacred Orders, whose originals are either Jews or Moors, and yet this caution is not observed by them at St. Jaques, where native Africans officiate as priests.

The Jesuits, among all the rest of their orders, are the only men in supream repute, which they aspire to by the easie absolutions of their penitents, and pretentions to stricter sanctity, and a more unblemisht character, than the rest of the orders. For this end, they closely conceal from publick notice all

the enormities and irregularities of their order, and all their failures, but what are legible in their ignorance, which was so remarkable, that scarce one in three of those I conversed with understood Latin. If any delinquent is expelled the convent, his faults are stifled and kept as secret as confession, lest the noise of them among vulgar ears, should scandalously reflect upon their society, and diminish that veneration they so zealously affect. And the only answer which is vouchsafed to any querist, for the reason of their expulsion, is, 'He was unworthy of our society.' This is a maxim worth the wisdom of that order, and the imitation of all others, and highly justifies the prudent concealment of such men's faults, whose examples might eminently scandalize any kind of profession.

The Jesuits chappel is far the most splendid of all their churches, which we chanced to view in the greatest lustrc, at St. Ignatius his Eve, (as they are pleased to term him) a time observable for the magnificence of the ceremony and pomp: variety of the choicest anthems were sung, with the sweetest instrumental and vocal musick, sufficient, had their doctrine been answerable to it, to have charmed us into a conversion. The vigils of all their saints, as well as that of St. John Baptist, are celebrated with abundance of shining lights, placed conspicuously upon the tops of their steeples, after the sun-set. But the bright illuminations this night about the steeple of the Jesuits oratory, far out-did the rest of the Apostles Eves, and dazled the eyes of the spectators at a distance. Some of the chappels, as well as houses, are built upon such steep declining hills, that they seem to indanger the precipitation of such as come out of them; and questionless the protection of the saint is extolled for the deliverance from those perils.

Near the Jesuits chappel is a certain hospital, much frequented by the natives, erected for the entertainment and cure of such as have smarted for their feminine pleasures; whose miserable spectacles are so ghastly and frightful, that were there nothing of future punishment, that only might very well curb men in their highest career to those foul sins. Among the rest of the female penitents, we espied one near the altar, weeping bitterly, with a sorrowful dejected countenance, and in deep anguish of heart. This sight produced something of the same



melancholy effects upon us, till I recovered myself at the hope of her happy condition, which such floods of tears seemed to promise. Had all the rest evidenced the like sorrow and concern she did, this infamous society (for ought I know) had been most honourable upon the island. But their measures here are very unequal, for a modest salute is an offence insufferable, whilst this abominable vice many of them scarce stand to it with.

Their churches are most commonly made use of for repositories of their dead, in the interment of whom they mix stone with the earth, to hasten the consumption of the corpse whose sudden mouldering away, upon this account, the room made within a fortnight for a fresh funeral. To signify their respect for the deceased, the corpse is curiously trimmed and adorned, as a faint emblem of its glorious and triumphant resurrection, in imitation of the wise king, who buried with his royal father an invaluable treasure.

But as their church allows no charitable thoughts to the souls of hereticks, so does it forbid all kindness to their bodies, and prosecutes the English that die there, with more inexorable hatred, than what they shew to the carcasses of beasts and birds, which may find a resting place on shoar, quietly remain upon common ground; both which are strictly forbid the English, who are cast into the sea, and committed to the waves. And accordingly an English merchant falling of a sudden distemper at Madeira. was unfortunately carried off by it; which moved the rest of our nation that were there to contrive for his decent interment. And therefore, lest public burial might expose him to the rage of the people, or the clergy's indignation, they concluded to deposit him among rocks, in order to his better concealment. But the rocks being unable to shelter him from their tyranny, which was exercised upon him in this barbarous manner, they dragged him from the place where he lay, up and down the island, and exposed him to the contempt of the inhabitants, till they threw him into the ocean. This inhumanity, which is carried even here to the grave, is propagated as far as their plantations in the Indies, where if any Protestant chance to die among the nation of Portuguese, no place is allowed for his reception, nor vile en-

for his sepulchre, but the very corps of a rank heretick annoys the dominions of a Catholick country, though it were buried under ground. And yet a powerful sum of money, which is said to blind the world, prevailed to open the eyes of the priests intellectuals in this very case; for thus they stated the difficulty concerning an English child, which had been clandestinely interred there, that if it were immediately taken up, and then baptized after their manner, and so made a member of their church, it might be admitted among their dead. This conclusion was approved of as canonical, for the child was baptized, buried after their manner, and deposited where it was taken up.

The canons of the Cathedral Church, which stands about the midst of the city, are as exquisite in their contrivance for their ease, as the others were for burying-money. The constitutions of their church oblige their attendance at prayers by four o'clock in the morning. But because such early rising is very troublesome, especially to corpulent men, therefore they agree, that the clock shall never in the morning strike four, till it really be five; and order its motions by this method, always an hour or so slower than the sun, that they may punctually indulge their own repose, by this mock obedience to the orders of their church.

Yet how negligent soever they may appear in this instance, they all pretend a mighty zeal for their faith, especially in the meritorious conversion of any stranger, upon which we suspected they had been too intent, by the loss we had of some few of our men, whom no search could discover to us. The Jesuits we conjectured must be concerned in it, because their love for the cause is generally more flaming than that of the other orders among them; and therefore we resolved upon addressing to the Governor for demanding an enquiry after them in the college of the Jesuits; but we found his power could not reach it. The time grew on that we must depart, and were much concerned to leave our men, when we were engaged to set sail, because the want of them on board might be very prejudicial in a tedious voyage. Our commander therefore having got without gun-shot of their citadels, manned out his pinnace with twelve or fourteen hands, well provided with swords and fire-arms, and appointed them to row along the shoar, to apprehend, if possible, some few of their fishers, to supply the

places of our sailors. As they cruised along, they met by chance with another prize, viz. a comely abbot and a vicar, coming up to Tunchal from the country in a boat. They were strangely surprized, to find themselves unexpectedly taken, and pirated by a boat's crew; but much more concerned, when we told them they must bid farewell to all their friends and festivities at Madeira, and embark with us in an Indian voyage, or at least remain our prisoners on board, till the Jesuits restored our men on shoar. The thought of this amazed and struck them with confusion, and forced from their breasts many a groan and sigh, for their sorrow seemed to surpass its expression by any tears. And yet they were not so far lost in this consternation of mind, but that they kept within limits of reflection, and recollecting a method for their release. Therefore they speeded an express to the Governor, and passionately implored him for the sake of God, and the Virgin Mary, to bethink himself of some project for their liberty, for which their prayers should continually ascend for his deliverance from such disasters. And our commander valuing his sailors above the priests, directed a letter to the English consul on shoar, to this effect.

Sir,

The honour and duty we owe our king and employers, obliged us to make this restitution to our selves, since your Governor would not. To deprive princes of their subjects, and masters of their servants, under a pretence of making them better Christians, is in my opinion to make them worse. And if the religion of your Jesuits admit of such immoral actions, neither our laws nor religion require our taking it at your hands. If your Governor has little command over them, he has less over us, and he therefore may take the keeping of some of your subjects as patiently from us, as he does their detaining some of our sailors (as we presume) from them. In the meantime, endeavour to see they be restored, or rest satisfied with the loss of those we here detain. If your Governor would not give us satisfaction if he could. he cannot then excuse himself in

this matter. If he would, and could not, we shall be so kind, as to do it for him, which may thereupon prove an obligation, as well to him, as

Yours, &c.

These epistles were no sooner received and read, but the whole place was in an uproar about their priests, either their priests must be returned, or all the English must suffer for it. This startled the English merchants on shore, and awakened their care of contriving some means for their safety; for they perceived the enraged multitude, who stood upon the strand, would not be pacified without them. And therefore lest our commander should prove inexorable, and seriously resolved upon what he writ, the English merchants brought along with them money for a voyage, after they had prevailed to get on board. For they durst not return without their priests; and they knew not where the voyage would end. After their difficult passage on board, they related the confusion the place was in, and how tumultuous the people had suddenly grown, upon the account of the detention of their priests; and how they were upon the bank of the sea, repeating their exclamations, *Our Padres! Our Padres!* A sudden joy sprung up in the faces of the priests upon the sight of our English merchants, from whom they assured themselves of some relief, and release from the confinement they were under; and with sorrowful accents represented to them the unhappy minute they set forward for Tunchal; but withal, the hopes they had that their coming on board would prove favourable to their misfortune. The commander, who heard all this, and reflecting upon the extreme inconvenience attending the English upon this occasion, resolved to send them all on shore, to remove that disturbance which he saw was otherwise unavoidable; for he thought the priests would be as useless to him at sea, as they commonly are at land, and a burthen to either element; and so dismissed them all to their great satisfaction.

After this we stood off from shore, filled our sails, and without any ceremonious adieu, either to the Governor or to the fort, we left the island. For it is easier to depart, than to be admitted into the harbour. Because when any ship arrives

there, two or three of the inquisitors, who wear the sacred garb, are sent to examine it about any sickness, or other objection, which might hinder the liberty of traffick, and not suffering any sailer's setting his foot on shore till they pronounce the ship healthful.

By a kind providence our speedy sailing that day did occasion a greater deliverance to us from the French, than what the abbot and vicar had from us. Within forty hours after our departure, two French men of war of good force arrived in the same port, who no sooner dropt their anchor, but they weighed again in chace of our ship, and shaped their course directly towards the Canaries, where some gave out we were designed. But leaving the Island Palmo on the east, we steered directly to St. Jago, a capital island of Cape Verde. whereby we happily defeated their pursuit.

So the *Cerne Atlantica*, as the ancients called it, being in a fortunate minute left by us, we arrived with safety at this port. In our way we were entertained with an unusual prospect, which to fresh navigators was very divertive, which was several winged fish, which took flight in the air, while their fins were moist, dropt into the ocean as soon as they grew dry, and thereby unactive. Their wings are always spread while they move in the air, where they sometimes sustain themselves the space of a furlong. When they drop into the ocean, the watchful dolphins are generally ready to devour them, whose swiftness in the water equals almost the flight of the others in the air. And as timorous animals at land seek for shelter from men, when they find themselves in apparent danger from a merciless persecutor; so the flying fish will betake themselves to our ships, and fall upon our decks and shrouds, upon a hot pursuit of the destructive dolphin. Here likewise we were affrighted with a turnado, which, without care and speedy handing of our sails, might have endangered our ship. It came suddenly, without any previous signs of its approach, till a quarter of an hour before it came. It is a violent surprizing storm of rain and wind, and that which adds to render it more formidable, is its unexpected rise, at such times as the weather is sedate and temperate, but its precipitant motion renders it less tedious, being as soon a dying, as it is short in its growth and increase.

## THE ISLAND OF ST. JAGO

THE Islands of Cape Verde are distant from the main of Africa 150 leagues; they extend themselves in a body from  $13\frac{1}{2}$ , unto the 19th in latitude. Ten of these islands are considerable, though not inhabited, and are ranged in form of a crescent; of which the convex part regards the continent, and the two points the ocean.

The night before we came to an anchor we espied this island of St. Jago, which is the greatest and principal of all the isles of Cape Verde, and is dignified with a Bishop's Seat in a city of the same name. They borrow their appellation of Cape Verde from the Cape or prominence of land in Africa, which is the nearest main land to them, from whence several Africans come here to inhabit. These by the ancients were called Gorgades and Hesperides, who feigned the orchards with golden apples, which were kept by a dragon, were placed here.

In this island are various ports, the most noted of which we anchored in, named Praya, where, by the blessing of heaven, we escaped an eminent danger, which arose from a violent storm in the night-time; and was so outrageous, that the ship dragged her anchor; and our ruin had been inevitable, had it been much fiercer; because we rid so near St. Jago, which was on one side; and Hay Island, which lay on the other.

The island at our approaching it looked very desolate and naked, without any apparent verdure either of grass or leaves. And the reason for this, upon our examination, was very plain, because in three years space before that day we came thither, they had not been refreshed with one shower of rain, which occasioned an extreme drought and sterility, and gave it the face rather of the deserts of Arabia, than of a plentiful country.

The air is neither so healthful, nor the place so pleasant, as Madeira, which has so many houses and delightful inclosures, that it seems to be a garden of pleasure. Neither is it so mountainous as that island, which makes it apt enough for plantations, and yet here are but very few vines, and those incompetent for affording any wine; most of which that is drunk is imported to them from Madeira.

In the valleys are grains, vines, fruits, sugar-canes, mellons, bonanoes, better than those at Madeira, dates, coconuts. They abounded not with cattle, but of fowl they had plenty; for which, or for any other of their commodities, we traded with them for old cloaths, and cast garments, a staple sort of merchandise with these Portuguese, whose humour, which generally is vain and haughty, will make them vaunt themselves like Fidalgoes, when they are only thus apparelled. But that which is meaner in them much, than strutting in the over-worn garments of sailors and other men, they are strangely addicted to pilfering and stealth; and one or two of them will entertain you in discourse, whilst the third takes off your hat, or snatches away the sword from your side. And if they meet any stranger at a distance from any town, they seldom fail of stripping him naked.

They are ignorant here in the huswifery of making either butter or cheese, which are therefore valuable, because rare. And accordingly, a couple of cheese, twelve stock-fish, and two dozen of poor Jack were kindly received by the Governor of the town, who was at this time unable to supply us with a loaf of bread; which made a sea-bisket as acceptable to them, as fresh provisions, after a long voyage, would be to us.

A Romish prelate governed the island, and presided in their civil as well as ecclesiastical affairs; and, without that niceness which is practiced at Madeira, admitted the native Africans to officiate in their oratories and convents.

Most of the people are Negroes, transported from Africa to settle here, converted to the Roman faith. Their cloathing is a kind of Indian-like stuff, turned about their middle carelessly, the rest of the body is all bare, save their breasts and shoulders, which are covered with some thin stuff.

Notwithstanding the penance they were under by the scarcity of bread and wine, the women were very loose in their behaviour, and easily led away by the sailors, whose immoral extravagancies have occasioned this proverbial speech in India, That in sailing from hence thither, they leave their consciences on this side of the Cape; and in returning from thence to Europe, they leave their consciences on the other side the Cape. So that except it be in doubling the Cape, they will scarce allow an East-India-man any conscience at all.

Near this island is another called Fogo, remarkable for its sulphureous vapours, which like Aetna and Vesuvius, it continually emits; which sally forth in such eruptions, that it annoys all the adjacent parts. by continual vomiting of flames and smoak; from this burning mountain such quantities of pumice-stones are ejected, that they swim upon the main ocean, and are variously dispersed by the currents of the water to distant places; some floated as far as St. Jago, and spread themselves by our ship's side. The height of this volcano is considerable, and its aspiring top is raised above two stories in the clouds, which are ranged each below the other upon its declining sides. The head of the mountain advanced in height, in a double proportion to the highest of the clouds; which were not very long in ripening, but presently put on their aery body. The same thing I observed upon the table-land of the Cape of Good Hope, where the vapours fashioned themselves into clouds immediately upon their exhalation from the mountains, and ranged themselves, as they rise, in due order and progress through the air.

Before we had sailed many leagues from this shore, we were under the influence of the trade-winds, which blow on both sides of the lines to many degrees distance; and with such constant gentle gales, that except it be upon occasion of a sudden, violent, and stormy gust of weather, the sailors make all that passage holiday, and are not forced to hand a sail in the space of many days. The days here are regular, and almost of an equal length, not apt to be infested with storms, or darkened with clouds, or overcast with showers, except it be upon the nearer approaches of the sun, who usually skreens his direct scorching beams by the interposition of watry vapours; and now neither boisterous winds nor swelling seas do raise any fear or disturbance in the mariners breast. It is this kind indulgent weather that mainly animates men to the undertaking of this tedious voyage. For otherwise the length of it would be insupportable, were it all along incommoded by the storms and dangers of our northern seas; the thoughts of which wear off by degrees, as we recede from them, and fall insensibly into milder climates; where the calm face of the heavens smooths the rugged aspect of the men, makes them forget their former rough and troublesome weather,



and solace and enjoy themselves in this sweet welcom change of air.

Great store of sharks swum now about our ship, with their attendants and adherents the pilot-fish and the sucking-fish, which are about four or five inches long. The pilot-fish are the same to the shark, as the jackalls are to the lion, direct him in his course and find out his prey, and give him notice of any danger. The sucking-fish stick close to the shark, as some small fish do upon lobsters, and suck their nourishment out of him. This fish forsakes not the shark in the greatest dangers, is his faithful adherent in his utmost extremities, he cleaves to him even when he is forced out of his element, and brought on board the ship attends him to his funeral, and dies with him. The under jaw of the shark is so much lower than the upper, that he cannot take his bait, but by turning upon his back to receive it with more facility. They are eagerly voracious, and are furnished with instruments accordingly; with a set of teeth as keen as their stomachs, which easily lop off the leg or arm of a man and afford no more than one morsel to that ravenous animal. Yet are they peculiarly tender and indulgent to their spawn and shelter them in the place that gave them birth: For whenever the young ones are in danger, they immediately haste to the mouth of the old one, and retire to its inward part for safety. By this I was apt to think, that they spawned their young ones at their mouth, because we have seen them come out and go in at the sharks mouth, and found one six foot long in a sharks belly. Several dolphins followed our ship, which surpass all the *creatures* of the watry element in beauty and a quick fin, and is therefore called the arrow of the sea. They shine the brightest, and swim the swiftest, of any fish in the ocean; and their lively colours represent in the water the shining wings of some bright flies. But as they leave their element, their beauty fades; and as their life, so does their splendour decay; the lightsom colours begin to fade and mourn at death's approaches, and turn quite dark and dusky at their expiration. It is neither the number, nor the largeness of the finns, that contribute towards their extraordinary swiftness, for they are but few, and very small, two only near the jowl, and two small ones under the belly, and a narrow long one upon the back. The head is fashioned sharp above, and downwards

descends broader, almost like the head of a hatchet with the edge upwards. Upon the top of his tongue he has many little teeth. It is a lovely, neat, and clean fish, and as like to the dolphin on the sign-posts as a mackrel is to a flounder. The flesh of it is white and delicate, which when larded and roasted fresh, no Roman dainties or Eastern luxury can out-vie the grateful food.

After these an infinite number of porpoises plaid about our vessel, and spread themselves near half a league round our ship. One of them was caught by the tail with a running knot made by the sailers, whose liver and entrails nearly resembled those of an hog; and the blood that issued from it was thick and red, like that of a bullock: It strangely detained its blood, after a deep wound in the throat, and stopt the effusion of it for a very considerable time, before it gave it any vent.

We met likewise with shoals of Albicores (so called from a piece of white flesh that sticks to their heart) and with multitudes of Bonettoes, which are named from their goodness and excellence for eating; so that sometimes for more than twenty days the whole ship's company have feasted on these curious fish. Several vessels in tedious voyages, which by contrary winds have been retarded in their sailing, have owned the preservation of their lives to this kind providence, which has often supplied them with this sort of food in the time of their extremity.

As we sailed along there happened an accident, which made me conclude, that either the fish do not sleep, or that they subsist much longer without it than other animals. We struck an Albicore upon the tail with a fish-spear, which afterwards made its escape by dropping off the hook. This very fish, as we all observed, followed our ship daily above a week, when we sailed at least two degrees, that is, an hundred and twenty miles a day, and never left us all the while. We saw it early in the mornings, by that time we were able to discern any such things at that distance; and till the darkness of the evening intercepted our sight, we never missed it. The peculiar mark we distinguish it by, was the large wound in the tail, which was lacerated by the fish-spear, when it fell off, and in constant swimming near our Vessel discovered it very plainly to us; all which time it kept pace with us, and rested no more than we.

We had not the luck of seeing a cramp-fish, for an experiment, all the voyage; but Dr. Kempfer, in his passage through the Persian Gulph, relates how he caught one, and that it struck the person with a frightful tremor, whoever touched it with hand or foot; but the benumbing quality would not reach to the length of a line or a pole, according to the vulgar opinion, and operated only when it was sensibly struck or handled. But the way of preventing this trembling and stupidity of him that felt it, was most worthy observation, because unknown, and scarce mentioned by any writer. For a certain person on board, to the amazement of all that saw him, could touch the torpedo as oft as any, and was never affected by any insensibility upon it. He was shy of divulging his receipt, but by importunities was at length won to declare the secret, which consisted only in holding in his breath very hard when he touched it. The rest upon trial found it true. And the reason for this (as it is supposed) is, that stifling the breath, and detaining the spirits, repels the force of that narcotick or stupifying quality which issues from the body of the cramp-fish.

At our approaching the equator the winds grew calm, the sails flap to the mast, and the face of the ocean was as smooth as that of a crystal mirror. This gave an opportunity to our commander of sending out his boat to try the current of the water. For even in the main sea are sometimes such streams and strong tides, and imperceptible currents, as carry a ship many degrees in longitude beyond the observation of the expertest navigator, before ever he knows where he is, if he be not helped by his azimuth compass. An instance of this nature happened while I was in India. An East-India ship bound for Bombay, was supposed by the master of her to be near that haven, upon his first sight of land, but making better observation, he found himself driven many degrees to the westward, very near Muscat in Arabia Foelix, which lies upon the Persian Gulph. For this no reason can be alleged, besides the undiscernible currents of the water, which carry the ships so wide from that place, which by their course they steered towards: For in one hours time the water runs above a league, sometimes in the very midst of the ocean. And another ship bound for the same port, was upon the first discovery of land very near the coast

of Persia. Therefore the wary pilots, when the winds are silent, and the sea calm, use this expedient for trying the motion of the water, *which way, and how fast the currents set*. At seven minutes distance from the line, our commander manned out the boat, with the chief mate in it, and ordered it to be rowed about half a league from the ship. They took with them in the boat a basket, into which they put forty or fifty pound weight of iron or lead, which tied to a line of eighty, or an hundred fathom length, they dropt into the sea; by whose weight the boat was fixed as immovably and steady, as if it were at an anchor. After this they cast out the log-board, which discovers the tide-way of the water, and by the half-minute glass which they set a running, they know how fast the stream runs. For at certain distances of the line, to which the log-board is fastened, are certain knots, for every one of which that the board drew off, while the glass runs, they reckon a mile. The tide set here northward, but not very fast. This experiment of finding out the swiftness of the current, and to what points it runs, is never attempted but in a perfect calm, when both the winds and the sea are peaceable and still; which is the reason that mariners, by not meeting with such an opportunity, are sometimes driven very distant from their designed port. The sailors at this time let down an empty bottle into the water tied to the basket, with a cork in the mouth of it, so very large, that a mallet could not drive it in further; and yet the cork was forced into the bottle in its descent, and the bottle was drawn up full of salt water. Under the line there is such a constant brooding heat, that the rain water which has been received in casks, has been full of small worms in less than four hours time. Nor can any care prevent the rusting of the best polished steel or iron, nor hinder the best tempered blade in England from being apt to stand bent, by reason of the warm insinuating ether, which softens its spring and elastick spirit.

## THE ISLAND OF ANNOBON

THE first land we made after our crossing the Aequinoctial, was Annobon, which lies in the latitude of one and a half, and is reckoned about ten leagues in its circumference. We were driven unhappily to the leeward of it, and luffed up to it for the space of two days, but were hindered from fetching it, by its lying directly in the eye of the wind. It had the name of Annobon given it, because it was first discovered upon the first day of the year.

The scarcity of our fresh provisions, which by this time were almost spent, made us beat up to windward more vigorously, especially when we heard that they were to be purchased at such easy rates, that a roasting pig might be bought for a sheet of paper.

But though we judged ourselves unfortunate in not being able to reach this plentiful island, yet we were pleased with the prospect which we had of it, because we had been long strangers to such a sight. And it gratified us with the fragrant smells which were wafted from the shoar, from whence at three leagues distance we scented the odours of flowers and fresh herbs. And what is very observable, when after a tedious stretch at sea, we have deemed ourselves to be near land by our observation and course, our smell in dark and misty weather has outdone the acuteness of our sight; and we have discovered land by the fresh smells, before we discerned it with our eyes.

The inhabitants observing our toil and industry to stretch into the harbour, made fires on shoar to give us light in the night time, and sent off to us with some oranges and fowls a canoo or two, that is, a long sharp boat fashioned out of one piece of timber, which was rowed with six oars. The islanders that came in it were formerly known to some on board us, whom we conferred with concerning their belief, and the religion which they professed. They confessed themselves of the Roman faith, and were eminent believers of that church by the profound ignorance which they professed, in scarce knowing what Mass meant, or the Pope from the great Mogul. They were born in Africa, and, bating the name of Catholics, were as heathenish,

as if they had never come from thence, which they ascribed to their want of priests among them. No priests This amazed me, and put me to a stand, to consider how those who travel sea and land to make proselytes, to whom neither Siam, China, nor Japan are esteemed too remote a pilgrimage for making converts, should yet neglect a place so nigh as Annobon, overlook a care so much nearer. Surely some fatal disease, some infectious air must ravage and lay waste the place, that affrighted those zealous fathers from inhabiting among them. No, the air was healthful and serene, the island fruitful, but very poor; they know of no reigning distempers among them, unless we would account poverty one. They were stored with plenty of provisions, and indigent in nothing but gold and silver, of which they had none. Or if they were masters of a little of that at some chance time, the first priest that happened to come upon the island, was certain of draining it by confessions, whose stay was never longer among them, than the money lasted, but his minutes were always spent as soon as their miles. Now I imagined that a place, where was such scarcity of wealth, should have best suited with those whose profession is poverty; because they seem then to be in their proper element, and freed from the temptations of riches, which they voluntarily renounce. And that the eastern nations, which abound in wealth and luxury, should be less frequented by men that pretend to be dead to the world.

Upon this island, as well as upon many others, the road for ships lieth conveniently on the leeside, as at St. Thomas, which is under the line, Ascension, St. Helena, St. Jago, Mauritius, and many more, as well in the East as West Indies, which are by an all-wise providence made this way serviceable for avoiding the danger of shipwreck, which would be inevitable on the weather-side, when the winds blew fresh, and the seas were high. For in these places the winds generally hang towards one quarter, which renders the opposite part of the island calm and safe. And though some few islands are observed destitute of this convenience in their harbours, and are not so well accommodated with ports for the securing of ships, yet are these very rare, and for the most part not very necessary for navigators to come near them. With such an infinite wisdom are all things contrived for the peculiar ends and designs to which they serve.

## THE COAST OF AFRICA

NOT long after this we espyed the coast of Africa, a degree northward of the river Congo, and coming near the shoar were becalmed and driven backward in one night's time five leagues towards the north. But that misfortune was drowned by the pleasure we received in the refreshment of abundance of rain which fell that night, a drop of which we had not seen for at least two months before. The richest wine could not please our palates with half that delight, as this blessing which descended from heaven in showers upon us. For being all this while under the hot influence of the sunbeams confined to the torrid region, the provisions, being salt beef, and the water in the cask so unsavoury and corrupt, that to quench our thirst we must stifle our smelling, and shut our nostrils when we opened our mouths; and of this poor stinking liquor, in all this feverish weather, the allowance being only a quart a day, this made a glass of this fresh liquor drink most pleasant, and cheered our hearts, as if they had been refreshed with the noblest wine. For impatient of letting it fall into the tubs, which were placed upon the decks on purpose to receive the falling water, no wine was more greedily caught at by the vulgar out of public conduits on a solemn day, that the rain was by the sailors in bowls and hats. Such a relish does a starved appetite find even in course fare! To such inconveniences are men sometimes driven by tedious voyages!

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Stretching along this shoar, a strand extended in the semicircle of more than twenty leagues, presented us with a most delightful prospect, which received in its bosom Neptune's rowling waves upon an even and plain surface. Above this extended plain were several gently rising hills, cloathed with grass and variety of trees, all in their summer livery. This unexpected verdure of the fields tempted us to fancy ourselves rather in Europe again, than upon the confines of scorcht Africk. Such was the beauty of the pleasant fields and fruitful valleys, the gayety of the woods, and diversity of inclosures, cut out by nature, rather than cultivated by art, that it would almost

foil the pencil of a painter to outdo the original, but surely it would afford him ground for an admirable landscape. The fertility of this populous climate, which lies within the torrid zone, has quite confuted the opinion of blind antiquity, which could not discern the life of either man, or vegetable there. I could not behold any great plenty of corn or grain; but this proceeded rather from the native laziness, than from the penury of the soil, whose native turf seemed well prepared for fertility and production; but it abounds with store of fruits, particularly coco-nuts, and the most fragrant pine-apple, which carries the precedence from all the rest, whose excellencies are centered there, and exert themselves in its incomparable taste and smell. Abundance of well-grown deer are ranging in the fields and pastures, whose fatness is very apt to make them almost a prey to a nimble footman, with the assistance of any hound. But horses and black cattle are not many.

We were not yet come to an anchor, which continued the scarcity of our water, notwithstanding the former shower; and made us prize it almost equal with our wine, with which we were well stocked from the fruitful island of Madeira; but on a sudden we were more concerned and affrighted at the sight we had of that element, than we were refreshed by it. For we espied very near us a mighty mass of water drawn up into the air from the surface of the ocean, in fashion of a large round pipe, incircled with a hoary mist, or grey cloud; it rose gradually, and for some time hovered there, till at length it fell in such a cataract, such a torrent and mighty flood, that no ship was able to sustain its fall, but would sink and founder by its weight. This spout, which is a kind of aqueduct between the clouds and the ocean, put us in a great fear of its ruinous descent upon us, had we not industriously steered from it, and kept to windward. But if there is no avoiding the likelihood of being driven under it, there are two ways prescribed for breaking its pendulous resting in the air before a ship comes too near it. The first, which is seldom used by any Protestant, prevents its danger by a kind of charm. When they espy a spout at sea at some distance from them, the master of the ship, or any one else aboard, kneels down by the mast with a knife in his hand, which has a black handle;



reading in St. John the verse of our Saviours incarnation, *Et verbum Caro facta est, & habitavit in nobis*, he turns towards the spout, and with the enchanted knife makes a motion in the air, as if he would cut it in two, which, he says, breaks in the middle, and lets the inclosed water fall with a noise into the sea. Another method for preventing all peril that might arise from this mass of water suckt up from the ocean, is to fire a cannon or two, when they are near it, which immediately shakes and dissolves its threatening suspension aloft, and this softer thunder and lightning scatters and dissolves it from its unnatural position. What the quality of this water is, which is thus powerfully exhaled, whether fresh, or mixt with saline particles, those that had the fate to try, had scarce the happiness to discover; but sure the phaenomenon is very stupendous and unaccountable, that such a vast body of water should by a forcible extraction out of the sea bubble and mount upwards, like a small rivulet springing up into the air. And indeed, the works of the Almighty are inscrutable, and these may be some of his wonders in the deep, which the royal prophet extolled and was amazed at

Having arrived within four leagues of the shoar, eight Negroes came towards us in a canoo, who stood upright as they rowed, and looked forward, contrary to our proverbial observation. The shaft of their oars was framed out of a long piece of timber, and a thin broad square board resembling a wooden trencher, serve for the blade. They had caught in their boat a shark, of a different shape from the common fish of that name, and of a different appellation, for on each side of his mouth grew a large piece of flesh, six inches broad, in form of a shovel, which gave it the name of Shovel-mouth; and at the extremity of those parts were the eyes placed, as centinels at the out guards to preserve the body. With these came two of the principal men of the place, one of them appertaining to the king, the other a retainer to the mafoucko or general. Upon their heads they wore caps very curious and costly, the work of the natives, wrought with so much ingenuity and art of the needle, that they are not only valued there, but admired in all the parts whither the Europeans carry them. Their expence in cloathing is otherwise small, as the garb is that they

put on, which only consists in a clout about the middle, to hide their nakedness; and the furs of an hare or some such animal, which hangs down before them between their legs, which they value as the richest ermin or sables. Their frizled hair was tyed up in a bunch upon the crown of the heads of some of them, others wore it neatly braided behind. Some cut their hair in the figure of a cross, others were shaved all bare, excepting a small tuft above, like a Mahometan lock, as each man's humour or fancy led him.

On each side of their temples, and on their fore-heads, the skin was raised, as if it were with the pricking of a pin, in figures of a diamond cut which with them is not only a badge of honour and character of greatness, but is esteemed a sort of cosmetic to the face, and admired as fucus and black patches are with us.

Coral beads, coories, or Indian-shells, and black jet beads are wore as ornaments about their necks; and about their wrists, ten or twelve wreaths of brass, iron, or copper.

These Africans are by nature apprehensive of the least affront, though it proceeds no farther than ignominious expressions. Scurrility and reproachful words are so detestable, that a penalty is imposed on all foul and abusive language, according to the quality of the offender, and the person abused. The *Scandalum Magnatum* is in force among these heathens. For since urbanity and good words are things so pleasant in themselves, and so easily attainable, and a pleasant look and expression may as soon be given, as what are sowre and offensive, they pity no man that either loses his friend, or fortune by course behaviour and rude expressions; since courtesie and a debonaire air are like letters commendatory, which a person may at all times carry about him, to render him grateful unto others, and others acceptable unto him.

They travel no where without their fateish about them, one of which looked like the small end of a stag's horn, with a bell tied to it, about the bigness of a man's thumb. But each of them has his own made of such materials, as the priests, or mafouko think fit to bestow upon them. To these fateshes they ascribe their security from peril and mischief, and believe themselves safe from danger, while they carry them about

them. They appear to be to them instead of talismans, whose figures are supposed to act upon natural things, so as to drive away from any place, rain, hail, or wild and venomous beasts, by occult and sympathetick virtues, which the ignorant people incongruously ascribe to magick, or sorcilege; such were Virgil's brazen fly, and golden horseleach, with which he hindred flies from entring Naples, and killed all the horse-leaches in a ditch: And the figure of a stork placed by Apollonius at Constantinople, to drive those birds thence, in the year 1660. And that at Florence made against the gout by a Carmelite, named, Julianus Ristonius a Prato. Unless you will rather imagin that the ignorance of these people in these great secrets of nature, and their too great familiarity with the Devil, may make us think their characters magical and diabolical; whose virtues for the most part depend rather upon a tacit, or express compact with the evil spirit. For I believe in this, as well as other nations, there are some who have entred into leagues and diabolical associations with infernal spirits, by whom they have been enabled to effect things above the common reach of human nature. Upon several occasions the natives make use of these enchantments or images, but particularly in the preservation of their trees laden with fruit, upon which while they fix one of these figures, no native dare approach to take it. The ancient Romans were much addicted to these superstitious vanities, and ascribed the safety of their city and empire to the Palladium which fell down from Jupiter.

A floating island washed from the shoar, sailed by our ship, extended about an hundred foot in length and breadth, overspread with grass of three foot height, though it grew so near the line. We judged it was bore down by the river Zaire into the sea, for this river has 400 leagues course, and is very rapid, by reason of the many cataracts, or great falls which it has from the mountains. At its entrance into the estates of Congo (upon which account it sometimes borrows this name) it enlarges itself much, embraces quantity of islands, and at its mouth expatiates into eight or ten leagues in breadth; yet throweth its water near thirty leagues farther into the sea, with so great a violence, that it retains its natural colour, (if not sweetness) as we observed, without being any more than dasht

with the salt waters of the sea. But it forceth its waters along the shoar with more ease, and therefore presseth them much farther, as far almost as Cape Lopus, which is about two degrees southward from the Aequinoctial. But the saltness of the springs on shoar is not less remarkable, than the freshness of the river in the ocean, and carrying its waters uncorrupted at that distance into the sea; for when in the sea it is tide of ebb, there is a sensible saltness in the fresh springs that are near it, but according as the waters of the ocean rise and swell in the tide of flood, the sweetness and freshness of the springs increase and return again.

The places situate near this river, such as Loango and Cabenda, are indifferent fertile in grains, afford excellent fruits, wine of palms; breed many cattle, and all things necessary for life are found here: They are well stored with elephants, in which they abound more than any adjacent countries, by which they have quantities of ivory, but nothing of gold or silver. Those metals are of no esteem with them. They value all metals according to their bulk; for a pewter bason is preferred with them to one of silver of less quantity and size, and a large brass ring to a small one of gold. We offered them a dollar for a dung-hill fowl, which they rejected, and exchanged at the same time for half a dozen needles. For these they thought they might have use for, but our money was an useless, dead commodity. The money current among themselves, is small matts of grass, very thin, about sixteen inches square; for one of which they buy three kankies, or small farthing cakes, when corn is dear, and five when it is cheap. They use these matts in adorning their bodies, and covering their private parts.

The air is very hot and sulphurous, as must be expected from a place in this climate, but the natives endure it with ease, are healthful and vigorous, are as well proportioned, and in their shapes of as exact symetry, as any in the world; and the inhabitants are numerous.

Instead of that soft wool which cloatheth sheep, a harsh kind of hair, not unlike that which grows upon dogs, is the usual excressence; the supple oily particles are wasted and dried up by the intense heat of the weather, which gives it that roughness and stubborn quality. The like I observed in the sheep that are in the Indies.

## MALEMBA

A T Malemba our commander sent to the mafouko, as a present, a large cheese with two bottles of brandy; which he returned with a kidd, a small calabash of palm wine, a cock, and a little vessel of lime-juice; delivered to us by those who brought them, in the English dialect, a language to which many of them have in some manner attained, by the frequent traffick and stay of the English in those parts. Among those who were pleased to give us a visit on board, was the little mafouko, or deputy general, who while he diverted himself with us, espyed among the Negroes, a native of that country, who was formerly sold from thence, and falling in to the hands of our commander, was brought thither again to attend him in the voyage. The deputy general disguised his knowledge of him a while, and cast only a negligent eye towards him, 'till the Negro observing it, approached him with ceremony, and gave him the regards of the country. Their mutual salutations were after this manner, the cafree at some distance bowed his head, and fell upon his knees, and rising up a little after, clapt his hands together four or five times, the mafouko then clapt his hands together likewise four or five times; upon this the Black addressed nearer him, so that they mutually joined their palms together first, and then joined their own hands four or five times; this ended the particular ceremony with the mafouko; which was repeated by the Negro to every principal man on board; and then in conclusion, as a token of publick mirth and universal joy for the happy meeting, they loudly clapt all of them their hands together, and the salutation ended. The inequality of their condition made them not forget the complement of a condescending carriage to this inferiour slave, who were no way barbarous in their behaviour, whatever they were in their opinions, but as the access to their persons was very easie, so was their humour smoothed with a complaisance, void of all supercilious stiffness and morosity.

Not only the prince, but all others of the highest figure and quality are served upon the knee, by the attendants that

minister to them. This is the usual manner too of suplicating an alms, or asking any considerable favour; and in this posture one of those on board requested a bottle of brandy, a liquor highly esteemed by the noblest among them.

The more eminent and noted wore a sort of nightrale of net-work about their shoulders, very close wrought, either white or black, made of one entire piece, with a hole in the middle, of that convenient size that they thrust their heads through it, when they put it on; but some of them delight themselves with an English dress, if they can purchase it from any of our nation, but then it is never wore but at great solemnities, and on stated days. I wish they had used our language as innocently, as they did our garments, and that they had been less accustomed to the execrable sin of swearing by the name of God, and the habitual venting of horrid oaths. This custom they impiously imbibed by their conversation with our sailors, whose frequent oaths made them believe them an elegance of our speech, and the most laudable expressions they could use; and this deadly sin they now digest with as much ease, as the young maid, whom Albertus reports, brought her stomach to live upon spiders.

The second person of eminence who came to visit us, had all his face besmeared with red paint, a thing customary among the nobler rank; as in India this colour is put upon their cattle, especially their horses, and is the usual paint of their fruit trees. This epiphanius reports of the Egyptians; that though they had forgotten the history of the work of God, yet they rubbed over their cattle with a red sort of keil; to save them that no evil should befall them that year; ignorantly counterfeiting that blood sprinkled upon the lintels of their doors, which saved the Israelites once in Egypt. But how this custom should be derived to these nations from the Israelites and Egyptians, or whether they practise it upon that superstitious account which the Egyptians did, to secure them from misfortune, I could not learn, I rather believe that they use it as an ornament, because it looks lively and gay.

The diet of the common people is very ordinary, and seldom reacheth the flesh of any animal, which is not prohibited them by any law, but their inability to purchase it. Corn,

and herbs, and spring water are their common food. Sometimes they feast with a little fish, and that with a few pindars is esteemed a splendid banquet. These pindars are sown under ground, and grow there without sprouting above the surface, the cod in which they are inclosed is an inch long, like that of our pease and beans, and they are eat with beef or pork instead of our beans or pease. Some of these I brought from England, which were sown in the Bishop of London's garden, but whether they will thrive in this climate is yet uncertain. The flesh which they eat, they never account palatable, till it grows unsavory; they expose it upon the roofs of their houses till the moisture is exhausted, and it looks like dried fish; and sometimes bury it under ground, till it proves tender by being tainted. They indulge not their appetites with excesses, nor force upon themselves diseases by over-loading of their stomachs, but eat according to the rules of nature, for health, and not for luxury, and live according to nature's periods, to seventy, or eighty years of age, healthful and sound. They are wiser than to cut short the thread of life, by that meat which should prolong it.

The extent of dominions, and love of wealth, are as prevalent with those that are placed in the highest orbs of fortune here, as they are with other monarchs of the earth. A native ambition renders those that are powerful, as well as men of lower stations, restless and troublesome, and sets them upon soaring higher and higher, insomuch that a hot war is now on foot between the two kings of Malemba and Cabinde, commenced upon the departure of a beautiful woman from the country of Malemba to the king of Cabinde. But the truer original of this war, is the desire of conquest for the sake of subjects, who as soon as they are captives are made slaves, and in the multitude of them the strength and wealth of their kingdoms consist. Arms and ammunition are the undeniable commodities, for which they exchange their slaves, and in the use of which they grow expert, but bows and arrows are their own proper instruments of war, and the weapons commonly, and very dexterously used: Their bowstrings are made of the rhine or outside of a cane.

To preserve the line of their king's untainted, they make choice of the king's sister's son, to be always hereditary in the

soverainity, imagining that the female off-spring secures the succession more than the male, and in this she is under no confinement to any single person, but is allowed her choice out of the whole kingdom, to satisfy her desires, and gratify her fancy with whom she thinks fit; and thus without any censure or blemish to her character, she takes her liberty with subject or foreigner, African or European at her will; imitating in this the Lacedemonians, a wise and grave people, who permitted their wives, for the procreation of a generous progeny, to be familiar with any stranger, whose company they hoped might improve the off-spring. And thus likewise upon the Malabar coast, the first night's lodging is allowed the Bramin, when the king marries any person; and therefore the sister's sons, as in Africa, and not the king's, are heirs to the crown, because the blood royal runs certainly in their veins. And the king's sisters are also indulged here the freedom of bestowing their virginity on whom they please.

The natives of Malemba retain among them the use of circumcision, and of admitting children into their religion by that ceremony, which one among them, dedicated to that office, performs upon them. Neither are they unmindful of a due veneration to the great creator of all things, nor so far lost to all sacred thoughts, as to neglect a constant homage to him, and a stated exercise of solemn worship; and in this they exceed what Christianity prescribes, and for our seventh, appoint every fifth day sacred for religious duties; on which day they convene their people, who unanimously assemble in a public congregation. On this day some person of years and discretion, of repute for sobriety and civil converse, entertain the youth and those of greener years with strong dissuasives from the customary vices of stealth, impurity, adultery, and murder; and with all the rhetorick which nature taught him, and zeal inspires him with, disclaims against those criminal practices, and raises his invectives against vice and folly, and whatever is odious and prohibited among them. For all the hainous vices are under a proscription with them, as well as us, and are only committed by daring profligates. The terror of immediate punishment is not the only restraint from these commissions, but the sage admonisher affrights their consciences with a future



miserable state, in the dreadful society of benimbe, that is, the Devil, if they obstinately persist in wickedness, and encourages them with the promise of being hereafter happy with Zammampoango, which signifies God, if they carefully advert to, and practise his instructions. These ignorant heathens have not yet lost the notices of the soul's immortality, and the impressions of future rewards and punishments are fresh and undefaced among them. I enquired of them what their sentiments and notions were of their Zammampoango? They told me that he inhabited above. Then I further asked, whether they meant by that, the glorious lights above, the sun, the moon, or the heavens? They answered, No, but he who had dominion over them, who made them by his power, and this visible world we stand upon.

They generally affirmed that benimbe is frequently in the fields covered with mists and thick darkness, where he sometimes exercises his infernal authority over infamous and lewd persons, in the milder chastisements of some, and severer treatment, even as far as the loss of life, of others. Therefore they are terrified from walking abroad in dark and gloomy weather, because they expect nothing but horror and misery from that spirit of darkness. This infernal spirit in all his wild insults and frolics over them, is careful to preserve his appearance as dark as the place he chuses to revel in, scarce assumes any lasting form, and is known by nothing so much as the plentiful effects of his stripes and severer strokes upon their bodies. He conceals the deformity which he usually makes of his figure, whilst he exercises the malignity of his temper. Some die of the bruises they have received from him, and others have been confined to their beds, as they assured me several times, and therefore they avoid the fields in rainy dull weather, that they may escape the force of his malice, who is ashamed to appear abroad by light, but chuses these melancholy seasons for inflicting his vengeance, to which he seems to have most right, as he is a spirit of darkness.

Walking along the shoar, we were arrested by a very deplorable spectacle, a lusty Negro stretched dead upon the sand, who, after the manner of impaling, had a long stake thrust upon his fundament, which by a sharp passage through

his bowels forced its way upwards towards his head. The dreadful sight at first moved us to condole the sad object, till we were informed of the execrable villanies which brought him to this lamentable and painful end, and made us applaud the justice of those who were the executioners of this vengeance upon him. For no severity was able to match those crimes wherein he had been a long and skilful practitioner; even this destiny, though so horrid and severe, will yet be thought indulgence, and an act of clemency. This miscreant being possessed with a spirit of cruelty, and actuated by malice, had successfully contrived the death of near twenty persons about this place, by mixing a deadly poison with the palm wine, which he seasonably offered for the refreshment of their parched palates. This deadly liquor was not subject to any suspicion of being mortal, because the juice of the palm, with which it was intermixt, was a liquor so common and inoffensive, and their best and most pleasing drink. The king therefore, upon the information of this fellow's treacherous dispatching of his subjects by such poysonous draughts, immediately decreed a punishment and sentenced the criminal to this torturing death, peculiar only to such barbarous villains. The news of which made him seek a refuge among the desarts and the most inhabitable parts of the country; but the pursuit after him was so vigorous, that no thickets could shelter or secure him, the whole country hotly pursued him, and chased him as a common enemy, till at length he fell a victim to their just rage upon this shore; where his noisom carcase, being under an interdict of being interred (the ordinary manner of burying among them) became as loathsom and offensive as his life had been, and was left a prey to the savages of the wilderness, and the wild beasts of the field. The unusual manner of tormenting this malefactor, by exposing his body to the inclemency of the weather, and the beasts of prey, was wisely designed by the king as a terror to such abominable flagitious practices, and to retain the people in their duty.

The art of poysoning is what these Africans do very commonly exceed in, and to which they are generally propense upon any occasional quarrel or abuse. They seldom discover a generous resentment by an open challenge, or disputing it in the field

by the dint of the sword, or the force of a bullet, their dark complexion inclines them rather to vent their anger by clandestine courses, to destroy by the swift effects of poyson, and mortal infusions of the juices of herbs, in which they industriously acquire a skill, that in their designs against a man's life, they may be ready and prepared to put their revenge in execution that way. Their sly and crafty natures keep them from endeavouring to right themselves at the hazard of a public vindication; but that inhumane rage and animosity which is excited in them by a preceding provocation, being commonly accompanied with cowardise and sordid fear, puts them upon avoiding all dangers incident to themselves, and contriving the ruin of those they hate, by some covert method, and after an obscure way. Doing herein what Asinius Pollio did to Plancus, against whom he writ a libel, but deferred to publish it, till after his death, because he was then secure from all sharp replies.

They practise this diabolical art with as much secrecie as skill, so that it is neither easily discerned when they are about it, nor is it always discovered by any visible immediate effects. They qualifie the violent poysonous qualities with some mitigating ingredients, and the lurking operation will by that means sometimes not discover itself in a month's or a year's space, as some of our English have affirmed. Which cautions the more wary Europeans, who traffic with these people, from treating them with any indecency of offence, and keeps them always very circumspect and abstemious in eating and drinking with them, lest some unknown miscarriage might expose their lives to their hatred and discontents. For they know that all degrees of anger are least dangerous, when most seen, and then most pernicious when they lurk under a disguise and dissembled temper.

This inhuman practice is not less customary among the Indians, who by this detestable vice have been very fatal to the free conversation of Christians among them. For in India, where punch of Arak is the ordinary chearful entertainment, it too often happens, that the black wench, whose constant employment is making this beloved mixture, will, upon a disgust, or slight affront, contrive the bowl fatal to him that

abused her, with safety to all the rest of his companions. For having infused the poison into the bowl prepared for the person that offended her, after presenting it to him, she has been often known, when the next was taking it, to dash it all upon the ground, by a designed, but pretended inadvertance. And it rarely fails, but that all that taste it for ever quench their thirst, and seldom long survive the mortal draught. This is frequently the effect of the rudeness of unpolished sailors, who shewing a freedom peculiar to our northern nations, but unagreeable to the niceness of those eastern dames, have lavisht away their lives by a frank innocent kiss, or railing expression, and inevitably perisht before they were aware.

## THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA

WITHIN less than a month after that we loosed from the coast of Africa, we with much difficulty weathered the island of St. Helena; which was taken formerly from the Dutch, belonging to the East-India Company, by a grant from the Crown of England, situate in about the sixteenth south parallel, and as distant from any main land, as any island in the world. Hither we brought with us several refugees from the tyranny and persecutions of France, who found a competent subsistence and relief from the bounty of the Company upon this island; some of whom were placed in the more eminent stations, and advanced to posts of dignity and trust.

They were highly sensible of the comfortable abode they enjoyed in this distant region, which was made their sanctuary in their miseries; and how much the misfortunes of their lives were sweetned by the kindness they received from their new masters. But could not without melancholy resentments, and hearty sorrow, recount the various hardships and difficulties they struggled with, in making their escapes from the rage of their natural prince, by whose commands so many massacres and butcheries were acted upon their fellow Christians, and such frequent bloody tragedies were lately visible in France,

fomented by those whose sanguinary principles ventilated all those public calamities; and who stimulated their prince by suspicious chimera's of a possible conspiracy, to punish his innocent subjects by anticipation, for crimes of which perhaps they never might be guilty. By which state-artifices they pursued a self-interested revenge, under the barbarous disguise of curing untimely jealousies, and preventing unthought of insurrections, from which the Protestant subjects were as free in their principles, as they had evidenced themselves to be in their practices; and hoped in God that these unnatural mischiefs may at length be curbed, these severe cruelties, which have kept no stand, be at length restrained, to their comfort.

Among those who fled to this island from the outrageous insults of their superiours, was one Captain Porier, stript of all but the freedom of his thoughts and the serenity of his mind; who by the favor of his patrons was seated in the richest part of the island, and allowed there a maintenance for three sons and five daughters which escaped the persecution.

The land here is very mountainous, and raised to that height above the valleys, that we had a sight of it at 25 leagues distance at sea. I question whether Tenerif will afford a more distant prospect

It enjoys an air temperate and serene, to that degree, that the sky is seldom clouded or overcast, which produces a general clearness in the natives. And though it lies so near the equinoctial, and the sun was then in the zenith, yet was the heat so tempered and allayed by the gentle winds that flew along the land, that the northernmost parts of the island, especially after the sun's descent, made an artificial warmth very convenient, when the natural was withdrawn. Whereas both Moscat in Arabia, and Gombroon in Persia, which are at a much remoter distance from the equator, are at some seasons of the year so intensely hot, that the lungs being destitute of that due frigidity which is necessary for respiration, are suffocated by the excessive ferment of the air, by which both man and beast expire. Mr. Cook has often reported, that in the time of his abode in Persia, a certain person approaching his apartment, met with such a hot breath of wind at the entrance into his chamber, that he staggered upon the floor, and fell down it just expiring

But the inhabitants of St. Helena are not liable to such casualties, the clemency of the weather they are under subjects them not to the most common diseases, even that of the small-pox, but gives them a complexion fresh and beautiful, equal to that of celebrated England. The poverty of the place may be likewise thought another ingredient of its health; since physicians tell us, that most diseases arise rather from repletion than emptiness; from too luxuriant, than too spare a diet. And here they are not too much cloyed with varieties. For were the plenty of the island equal to its health, did the other conveniences of life match the pleasantness of the air, it might fairly invite the wealthiest, as well as the most indigent, to inhabit it. But the people are confined to poverty by a solemn restraint they are under to the traffic of all foreign countries, by being permitted no single vessel of burthen, or what's fit for trade; and are destitute of all cloaths, but what are transported from Europe, or brought by accident; which makes the island (to speak the truth) abate much of the pleasure of its habitation, and much more to those who want opportunities of leaving it when they please.

Yet at our arrival it was well stockt with inhabitants of both sexes, whose numerous progeny shewed little of sterility among them, how barren soever the island was otherwise. This put me upon the curiosity of enquiring from the women, how such plenty of them came there? The decoy, they told me, was worth my attendance to hearken to it; and it would not appear strange to see such a number of them there, when they discovered the means that brought them thither. For at their first setting out from England, a colony for this island, the current report that then prevailed was, that all the single persons upon the island were either commanders, or lords sons, of whom they might have choice upon their arrival. This made them eager for imbarcking for the voyage, and was charm enough to make them set forward with full sail for the remote island, though the distance had been farther. No curse was like a contrary wind, to check the speedy sight of those gallant gentlemen that awaited their coming; the ravishing thoughts of whose embraces kept them in life and alacrity all the way, and enriched their fancies with the hopes of being immediate mistresses of

great fortunes, and raised so far above their native birth, that nothing now but pleasures and respect should succeed in the room of their former servile state. The longed-for island was at length espied, and now fresh springs of love and delight appear in every eye and countenance. The joyful maids begin to ransack all their stores for an ornamental dress, in which though they cannot much exceed, however they fancied themselves trim and gay; and she that could not outvie the other in point of attire, endeavours to outdo her in nature's ornaments, in cheerfulness and mirth, in a nuptial look and taking air. Thus they stept on shore, full of the thoughts of a stately reception, and of the sight of those gentlemen they had heard so much of. When, alas! all these blandishments of fancy, which were so sweet in the voyage, carried a sting in the end of them, which imbittered all their joys. For instead of that heroic address which they expected from men of wealth and honour, they were saluted only in the plain courtship of men employed in agriculture, and ordinary mechanic arts. However, the pleasing expectation they had, gave them this advantage over the tedious passage, that whereas the boisterous waves and impetuous winds, the fury of the sea, and the dangers of rocks and sands, are apt to render so long a voyage very dreadful, their airy hopes made them take courage, and defy the power of storms, and gladly encounter all the perils that attend such a forlorn passage.

The fruitful soil is capable of producing the increase of many hundreds for one grain of Indian corn injected in the ground, but then it requires several inches of ground for its growth. Yet were it never so prolific, the rats and vermin so infest the land, that all their hopes are quite devoured by them before they arrive to any maturity; which reduces them to their last refuge, to yams and potatoes, the only staple increase for meat and drink which the island produces.

The East India Company are upon a project for planting vines, and thereby rendering the product of them serviceable, both to the refreshment of the sailors, and of the inhabitants: and will be a very seasonable relief to the abject condition of such as are willing to forget their poverty, and remember their miseries no more. The soil is qualified for their expectation,

could they guard it from the destructive vermin, which do every where make great waste of all things tender and delicate; and is therefore made fitter for nourishing fruit trees, whose stubborn and well fortified bulk defies the onset of those small rapacious animals, and is not a proper food for them. I have observed among some of those trees that bear fruit, especially upon an English apple-tree, transplanted thither from hence, at the same time apples that were ripe, others green, and others in the blossom. For the genial heat of the sun-beams, to which the island is happily exposed, hastens the maturity of the fruit, by a constant quick attraction of the seminal juyces from the root to the upper branches continually.

Instead of the common grass of the fields, those here are covered with mint and purslain, and are the ordinary food of the beasts of the field, whereon they feed deliciously themselves, and are made themselves more luxurious morsels to such as eat them. The whole island is in this respect, as it were a spacious garden of herbs.

The management of affairs is in the hands of a governour, a deputy governour, and store-house-keeper, all maintained by competent standing salaries from the Company; besides the allowance of a public table, spread with plenty of provisions, to which all commanders, and mates of ships, and passengers of note are freely received. These govern the concerns of the island, and are steered in their councils by the directions they receive from their masters in England. The results of their consultations are sometimes called impositions by the natives, and their determinations are branded with infamous characters of severity, especially when they appear less favourable to the ease and interest of the public; and from which, if there be any relief from the Company, yet the unavoidable delays in returning a redress to that distance, puts sometimes a tedious hardship upon the addressors. And I believe were not the convenience of its situation so very serviceable to the furtherance of the East-India voyages, particularly to the ships homeward bound, the constant trouble and expence which do seem to ballance all the advantages, would tempt the Company to quit all claim and propriety in the place, and abandon it to the power of the first designer. For though it is furnished with



conveniences for life, yet with no commodities as yet proper for the profitable negotiations of a merchant. And therefore as the kings of Portugal did formerly enact, that none should remain to inhabit the place, except some sick persons for the restoration of their health, that the fleets might be plentifully furnished with great variety of grains, of fresh victuals, fowls and water; so would the Company, I imagine, be willing to remit their right to those original proprietors, did not they rather consult the convenience of their ships, than any other private interest in keeping it.

The first discoverer of this island, was Juan da Nova, a Portuguese, on St. Helen's Day, being the 21st of May, An. 1502, whose country-men in a short time stockt it plentifully with hogs, a thriving cattle at land, and the most hardy for enduring a long voyage at sea; and likewise brought hither geese, and hens, partridges, seasants and guiney cocks from Europe; and of late, the increase of turkies has been so numerous, that the smallness of their rates will scarce encourage their care to look after them.

In the woods grew formerly ebony and cedar, and infinite store of oranges, lemons, limes, and other sorts of fruit; and now in the governour's garden, and some others of the island are quantities of plantins, bonanoes, and other delightful fruits brought from the East.

The soil is of a red colour, and in some places is friable, and resembles ashes, and in very many places lies uncultivated and bare.

And the minds of the inhabitants are generally as uncultivated as the neglected soil, their intellects as ordinary as their qualities, but what is infinitely worse, the pravity of their manners compares them with the rankest soil, productive of nothing but noxious herbs, untractable to all the arts of husbandry or improvement. For though the Company have not spared the encouragement of a minister, by the stated sallary of an annual allowance of an hundred pounds, besides gratuities from the inhabitants; yet are the sacred administrations but ineffectually, for the most part, used towards the reclaiming their enormities, and reducing the lives of the inhabitants to sobriety and a religious behaviour. The looseness

of which may in a great measure be derived from the poverty of the place, which affords but slender encouragements to live there. And where there are no rewards for piety, but present inward tranquility, and the lively hopes of a happy futurity, where nothing is visibly attainable but barely peace of conscience, attended with the expectation of a better state hereafter, these to a man, the dependance of whose life is upon his daily pains, and who is continually solicited with anxious thoughts for his secular concerns, appear too thin and airy diet to his gross mind, which is unaccustomed and unprepared, and not at leisure to relish it. For sensible allurements do soonest gain upon vulgar spirits, and temporal motives do most easily strike the fancy of less spiritual and refined minds, therefore has the wisdom of Providence designedly annexed the promise of many worldly felicities to our duty, and made our present enjoyments a powerful bait to entice us to the security of the future. And for this cause modesty and temperance are as much strangers here, as wealth and honour.

While we anchored here, there came into harbour, a ship laden with Negroes from Madagascar, belonging to New York: who acquainted us with three pirates which she left rendezvousing in St. Augustin's Bay, a port belonging to that island. Two of the ships were English, and the other Dutch, and were all richly laden with store of silks, which they had taken in the Red Sea, from the Asian merchants that traded from Mecha to Suratt, and other coasts of Indostan. Their rigging was much worn and weather-beaten, and for want of a new suit of sails, they were forced to employ double silk instead of canvas, and proffered that exchange to this commander. They had spent so much time in the naval surprizes of the Moors, and loading themselves with the rich booties which were easily taken in the Red Sea, that their ships became almost useless and unfit for navigation, which brought them thither for recruits. They were prodigal in the expences of their unjust gain, and quenched their thirst with Europe liquor at any rate this commander would put upon it; and were so frank both in distributing their goods, and guzzling down the noble wine, as if they were both wearied with the possession of their rapine, and willing to stifle all the melancholy reflections concerning it.

This St. Augustin's Bay is the harbour generally frequented by the European pirates, when the approach of the Mussouns threatens their navigations any longer in the Eastern seas, where fifteen or twenty English or Dutch will, without peril of either ship, or men, attack and board the largest Moor ships that commonly sail in those seas. Madagascar is a very large island, and affords plenty of provisions for the ships that put in there. It is governed by several kings, independant, and hostile to one another, designing continually upon each others territories, being possessed with that restless spirit of ambition, which allows as little ease to a man's self, as it does security to his innocent neighbour. And here too, as well as in Africa, where we landed; they compute their wealth by the numbers of their slaves, and wage their wars upon their accounts. The value of gold is yet unknown to them, that sun of the earth, as an ancient called it, amazes them not with its lustre, nor fires their hearts with an ardent desire of it; steel and iron are their darling metals, whereby they perform their generous exploits by open violence, and not by the treacherous persuasions of gold. Therefore this commander purchased here a ball of gold of 80 ounces weight for a trifle of no value, only it pleased the spectators eyes.

And because these pirtaes have been a public scandal, as well as damage to our nation, and both the English, French and Dutch at Suratt, have suffered in their fortunes as well as reputation from the Moors by the violence and rapine of these men; therefore I might here insert a relation of their sufferings, did it not fall in more properly with the succeeding account of the English factory at Suratt, and of the hardships the English underwent there.

Within three weeks after we loosed from St. Helena, we reached Cape bone Esperanse, in the doubling of which it blew so violent a fret of wind, and the high-wrought seas were so tempestuous, that unless that extraordinary Providence which sets bounds to its proud waves, had not likewise restrained their outrageous swellings, we had all perisht in the merciless surges. The commander who was a stout and expert mariner, and who had past nine times to the Indies, confest a severity in this tempest beyond whatever he was ingaged in before. The

fiery meteors which arise from the impetuous clashing of the elements, fixed themselves upon our masts and shrouds, and with ominous appearance shewed us the eminence of our danger; and though they gave us light, it was less desirable than the thickest darkness; and the thunder and lightning which were very frightful and amazing, added yet a deeper accent to the common calamity. But what was most lamentable, the immediate hazard of their lives made little impression upon the sailors, nor did the apparent apprehensions of death, and of another world, make them either bewail their unhappy fate, or summon them to a review of their past actions; but as if they seemed to vie with the noise of the waves, the more boisterous they grew, the louder were their oaths and execrations. Till the miraculous divine goodness, uncalled upon, and thus provoked, freed them by a wonderful deliverance from the imminent danger.

We were just recovered from the thoughts of this, when there arose another as inevitable a danger, by which we had suffered an unavoidable dismal fate, had it escaped our notice a little longer. For sailing between the main of Africa and St. Lawrence, we were carried unexpectedly by a current nearer this coast, than consisted either with our designs or safety, and had thereby been driven directly upon a shelf of rocks that lay off from the shoar, had not the watchful sailors upon the decks espied breakers, and all amazed cried out at the immediate hazard of our lives that we all were in. It was about four in the morning, and the faint glimmerings of the moon shed an imperfect light, just enough to give us a sight of our danger, and of avoiding it before we were upon it. We lost no time to turning about our ship, and steering off some other way, and within a few days gained the sight of that land we looked for, the island of Johanna.

## THE ISLAND OF JOHANNA

THE Island of Johanna is one of the four isles of Comora, their names are Comora, Monrlla, Johanna, and Mavotta.

Johanna lies near the foot of St. Lawrence, between that and the main land of Africa, in about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  of south latitude, by our observations we made no more than 12 and 6 minutes. It is guessed to be stretched in length about thirty miles, and in latitude half the number. Its fertility invites all the European ships tending towards Suratt, and the northern parts of India, to refresh themselves there. Here are plenty of black cattle at very low rates, and goats so well flesht, and of so large a size, that they are valued one third above the others. A bullock may be bought for two dollars, when three are expected for a well-fed goat.

The island abounds with fowls and rice, with pepper, yams, plantains, bonanoes, potatoes, oranges, lemons, limes, pine-apples, &c. most of which sort of fruits grow wild, and are allowed any sailer to gather gratis at his pleasure. They have store likewise of honey and sugar-canes; and the climate and soil are well prepared for other productions, as grapes, tobacco, cotton. The island is free for any native to make his election of any plantation, he likes best, and all the fruit is common, except that of the coconut-trees, in which they challenge particular properties, and debar the common liberty of plucking them at pleasure.

The women are in some measure servile, and chiefly employed in laborious toiling, and in planting the ground, whilst the men indulge their ease, and enjoy the fruits of it. For the orientals generally keep their women under a severe discipline, and bind them more absolutely to the laws of obedience and subjection, than is practised among those of Europe. They require an attendance from them, and expect the preparation of the victuals they eat from their hands, and forbidding them the privilege of their company at table, think it sufficient for the wife to begin her entertainment when the husband leaves off. Which servility comports very ill with that tenderness and regard, which marriage should be presumed to create in their joint interests and affections.

The native turf here is rich, and the productions so very numerous, that the island affords a most pleasant and plentiful habitation to the natives. Yet have they formerly tendered it to the English to build upon it, to plant, and to accept of as a

is an art, which his people have not yet attained to, which made the novelty by good luck recommend itself more gratefully to their palates; and both the prince and his court thought themselves highly regaled by that, which an English peasant so little esteems of.

While we were thus banquetting our selves upon this course fare, the prince was pleased to enquire kindly of our affairs at home, and of the welfare of his brother the king of England? Under whose auspicious government, I told him, we were not only entitled to a blessing, but he was visibly such to the nations that were round about him. That he was raised up by the arm of the Almighty, as a public defence of his own territories, and to put a stop to the tyrannical incroachments upon the dominions of the neighbouring states; and was caressed by his loving subjects as their true patriot, whom he protected not only by a mild and peaceable government at home, but by a frequent exposing his royal person to the utmost perils for their safety abroad, so that his brave and generous mind shunned no dangers to preserve them; as if he thought it a glorious martyrdom to die in the defence of his kingdoms. But we hoped the Almighty, who had all along protected his sacred person, would favour him with a long life and series of years, blest with continual health and victory over all his enemies. This relation he hearkned to with attention and delight, which I endeavoured to heighten by a grateful present, very suitable to the discourse, which was, the picture of our gracious sovereign K. William. He received it with a smile, and a countenance full of satisfaction, and was resolved to lay it by in safety in remembrance of its great original.

When he had a while considered the strength and power of the English arms, and the native valour of our puissant prince, he heartily wished he had been happy in a nearer neighbourhood to his dominions, that by securing an alliance with him, he might engage his arms in crushing a troublesom offensive enemy, who had sometimes made incursions upon his island, and slaughtered some few numbers of his subjects, that is, the king of the adjacent island, Moheila. Multitudes indeed could not well be mowed down by their martial weapons, which were neither sword nor spear, only hand-stones taken up in the

streets, and thrown at their enemies, as they had skill to aim them. Iron, and such like hostile instruments of terror they were unacquainted with. The king's armory was furnish'd with another kind of weapon much as harmless as these, viz. two guns with broken locks, and one pistol, whose touch-hole was near half as large as its bore. These in skilful hands might have done some execution by the force of their barrels.

The peaceable inhostile temper of this prince, and the quiet submission of his subjects, who pay him a profound veneration, makes his happiness equal to that of the greatest monarchs, and infinitely superiour to those, whose foreign or domestic enemies create perpetual feuds and tumults. Were no more arms necessary for the defence of princes, than what he possesses, we might enjoy a golden age again, and triumph more in the blessings of an universal peace, than in all the laurels and acclamations that wait upon victorious war. And as the resignation of the dominions of Charles V. shewed a greatness of mind much superiour to all his other conquests, that sought for quiet in a private cell, which it had long in vain searched after in palaces and camps; so the contented obscurity of this prince raises his felicity to the rivalling that glorious heroe in the nobler instances of his life, by affording his mind as ample a satisfaction in his narrow territories, as that potent prince enjoyed either in his exalted or inferiour state.

The queen here, as the queen at Achen, is never exposed to the view of strangers, but is kept from their sight by a thin piece of silk, when she condescends to speak with them; and very rarely vouchsafes to put forth her head. When she is chamber-sick, or by urgent occasions invited abroad, she is then kept private and unseen by a set of curtains hung about her.

This present prince is blest with several daughters, one of which was match'd to an Arabian master of a junk, and was portioned with five hundred dollars by her father, which was thought the third part of the money he was computed to be worth; to this was made some addition of slaves and cattel to increase the dowry; and in these the greatest part of their wealth did consist, before the Europeans brought in of late the use of dollars among them. They maintain a small commerce from hence to Patta, whither they export rice in a sort of

able profession to the native simplicity of these people, whose pliable tempers would readily prompt them to its entertainment, were they not debarred by an invincible antipathy to such injurious transactions.

The buildings of their country villages are slight and without ornament, but Kings Town and Queens Town, which are the capital upon the island, have some structures more polished, and made strong by stone-walls and timber roofs. The former is the usual residence of their kings, where they keep their court, at 25 miles distance from the harbour. The inhabitants of this place enjoy some peculiar privileges above the rest of the natives of the island, because of their being seated so near the royal palace, which defends them from those injuries to which those that dwell at a distance are sometimes exposed.

They are all of them industrious in concealing their wealth from the notice of their prince, whose avarice and injustice cause all their goods and estates to be seized to his own proper use, when they die; whereby many times the widow and children are reduced to the lowest state of misery, when once the natural death of the husband has made the king heir to his wealth and fortune. Which is an oppression very unjustifiable even among the Mahometan princes, and those arbitrary governours of the East; but could never be bore with any patience, by a people secured in their estates by the same laws with those which confirm that of their prince, and who like us are freed from all royal violences, by a time resignation of our possessions.

In Queens Town, which is a maritime village, many of their finest houses stand uninhabited, almost half of them, because some of the people were formerly killed in them by the islanders of Moheila, and their bloodshed polluted the habitation. The death of the master and mistress, and one or two more of the family, does the same; as if they mistrusted, that upon the destruction of the root, the natural branches would, without a transplantation, wither and decay. And the death of any person whatsoever so far defiles the purity of the dwelling, that it hinders the dressing of any meat there for the next month or two succeeding.

The coco-nut, upon which the generality feed, supplies them not only with meat, but drink, and serves instead of a cup to



drink out of; and, with the tree upon which it grows, is so variously serviceable to navigation, that a ship may both be built, and rigged, and victualled, and freighted by them. A little rice and this nut together, without any other food, do generally allay the hunger of the common people.

The entertainments prepared by the king, and those of the best note, are very large and hospitable, at which a whole town will be at one time treated, and all the inhabitants as guests. At these feasts the increase of the island is served up in plenty, but eat with moderation, and without much studied niceness in the preparation; boiled meat and rice do generally cover all their tables.

Strong drink is not so much their aversion, as restraint, being kept from it by their obedience to the Mahometan law, contrary to their eager desires. Yet here, as in places more oriental, they warm their spirits by the smoaking of tobacco; and beetle-nut and chinam are very rarely out of their mouths. Beetle-nut fortifies the stomach, and comforts the brain; it preserves the teeth, and cures or prevents a tainted breath. The beetle-nut resembles a nutmeg, and is shaved into thin pieces. Chinam is lime made of cockle-shells, or lime-stone; and pawn is the leaf of a tree, wherein the other two are wrapped up. These they take and chew between their teeth, till they squeeze out their moisture, which is spit upon the ground. Upon this two effects follow. First, it leaveth a red tincture upon the teeth and lips, which is esteemed with them very ornamental; and then it cheers and heats their spirits, even almost to the intoxication of such as are unaccustomed to it. Thus they commute for the use of our prohibited wines. The rheum which is hereby raised in the mouth, is spit generally into a hole in the room, designed for that purpose, which serves instead of a pigdan, or spitting-pot. The floor where the prince entertained us was so uneven and full of these holes, as if the whole room had been contrived for that purpose.

In the middle of Queens Town is a mosque daily frequented by the people, into which we were admitted with this necessary respect of putting off our shoes upon the entrance into it.

But this was an instance of civility rarely allowed us infidels by the Mahometans. Near the porch of the mosque is a draw-

well for the washing the hands, face, and feet, of all that enter, or come out of it. They take care to preserve it neat and clean, with mats spread upon the floor for the convenience of such men as pray, for the women are not much concerned to frequent it. In repeating their private prayers they make use of beads, as the Romanists do, and commonly with the same neglect, intermixing their secular conference with the handling of them.

The women are courted sometimes at seven or eight years old, and married when they come to maturity, which is about eleven or twelve in these warmer countreys, at which time they prepare a public feast for the space of seven days, as they do at their funerals, and entertain all that are pleased to come.

The woman contributes to the maintenance and support of her husband, and upon some occasions can leave him. They are kept secluded from the society of strangers, and that freedom of gadding abroad; which they so eagerly desire, which they sometimes unlawfully venture upon, to the hazard of their lives upon discovery. The orientals are all of them generally jealous, and very circumspect about their wives; and seldom fail of punishing their infidelity, if it come to light. And particularly, the laws of Tunquin are very severe against adulteresses, who upon conviction are cast to an elephant bred up for that purpose, who tosseth them in the air with his trunk as long as he finds any life in them. And thus in Japan adultery is punished in the women only; though deflowering of virgins, coinage of false money, and some other vices, are punished as well in their relations, as in the persons of the criminals.

They make great lamentations at the death of their friends, for whose sepulture they have no particular places set apart, but lay them often any where in the fields. Their mourning apparel is plain and simple, and of inconsiderable expence, made up of a few leaves of trees, tied about the middle, in fashion of a hanging fringe. Which is as strange in its kind, as the colour is to us at Tunquin, where the new king and all the princes of the blood mourn in robes of white sattin, instead of the dark colours used in Europe.

Seven months after the birth they name their children, at which time is a public feast celebrated for their friends. If the

child chance to die before that time, they are persuaded of the efficacy of their prayers in contributing to its future felicity.

Their ideas of religion are very dark and superstitious, increased in them by the constant apprehensions of the devil's frequent appearance among them. They give him here the name of Gregory, and affirm, that they often meet him in the highways, and in the streets, and in the evenings especially, by the water-side. The dread of him confines them to their houses when it thunders, for then they say Gregory is abroad, and no mortal dares stir out of his dwelling. As the city of London had a custom of burning the pope every year, so here they commonly burn the devil. At an appointed time of the year all the dirt of the country thereabouts is laid in an heap upon a black rock, lying between Queens-Town and the harbour, which by the neighbourhood is put into a flame till all be consumed. But the malicious spirit returns this affront in a very spiteful manner; and for the imaginary injury done to him, inflicts a real and grievous punishment on them, by the private stealth of one of their children every year, which is yearly wanting upon the island, against all their vigilance and care, which with melancholy countenances they often confirmed to us.

Many of the natives affect a familiarity with this evil spirit, are addicted to the invocation of him, by their skill in Negro-mancy; and have often recourse to him upon any emergencies of consequence; the obsequious devil never failing of being their oracle, when once the ceremony of invocation is over. By advice from him they assured us of some English and French ships which would soon be in the harbour, and accordingly happened. For the *Herbert*, an English merchant-man belonging to the East-India Company, was in a short time after our departure set upon in this road by three or four French ships, and after a vigorous resistance of their united force, was unfortunately blown up, when she was almost ready to give them chase. However we, by a careful Providence that preserved us, left this island before this danger, and on May the 29th, 1690, fortunately arrived at the island of Bombay, which is unquestionably one of the most convenient harbours in the Indies.

## THE ISLAND OF BOMBAY

THIS island has its denomination from the harbour, which allows the safest rideing for ships of any in these parts, and was originally called Boon Bay, i.e. in the Portuguese language, a good bay or harbour. By Ptolomy it was described under the name of Milizigeris. And before it fell into the hands of the English, was under the dominion of Portugal, from whence it was translated to the Crown of England, upon the marriage of the Infanta of Portugal to King Charles the Second, Ann. 1662. And is now put into the possession of the East-India Company, for the convenience of their ships and traffic

Before we espyed the main of India, several snakes of different sizes came swimming round our ship near the surface of the water, by which we knew we were not far from land, because they are never seen at any great distance from the shore; they were washed from it, I presume, by the violence of the rains in the times of the Mussouns, which I shall afterwards describe. This was seconded by another sign of our approaching the land, viz. by a multitude of locusts, which came flying upon our masts and yards, when we were distant from it thirty leagues, as we found by our computation afterwards. They were above two inches in length, and their reaching us at that distance from the shore, argued their great strength of wing to flie to us so very far; by which they mounted aloft, after they had rested themselves a while, and took their flight directly upwards. While I was at Suratt, the president and some more of us observed for several succeeding nights, an infinite number of these creatures flying over our heads for several hours together, in such numerous armies and vast bodies, that they cast a cloud over the moon, though it then was at the full. They directed their course towards the south, but some of them called by the way, and lighted upon a field of corn near the city of Suratt, and in one nights time devoured it all. The poor husbandman bewailed his loss to the governour of the city, who was invited forth as a spectator of the sudden devastation, that he might be more sensibly moved to repair the damage, and relieve the man.

It was just the season of the Mussouns when we fell upon the coast of India, which generally is extreme dangerous, because they break out for the most part in such thunder and rains, and impetuous winds, that if the ships are not laid up and in harbour before that time, they incur the hazard of being lost. This made our commander wish himself an hundred leagues from land, though we were then in sight of it; because that all his care and skill had scarce secured him from being driven by the violence of the storm upon a lee-shoar, by which he saw he must inevitably perish. But in 24 hours space the danger was well spent, and the joy of our safety commenced about the same time that the fear of our ship wreck did begin, according to the maxim and observation among mariners, *That a Tempest ceases about the same time generally that it does arise* And because I am fallen upon this subject, I shall, before I enter any farther upon Bombay, give a brief account of the nature of these Mussouns in India.

This is the only proper season of the year for rain, which falls here with such violence, and on all the coasts of Malabar, that it hinders all navigation, and puts a general stop to all journeys by land: For during this time, all the land carriages cease, and all the ships both European and Indian are laid up in harbour. It continues in these parts for the space of three or four months, from the latter end of May, till the middle of September; but in June and July do fall the most plentiful showers, and that sometimes without intermission, for ten or fifteen days together, intercepting the appearance of either sun or star all that while. The whole hemisphere then is most sullenly dark, and the sky overcast with the thickest weighty clouds, so that the earth seems rather inclosed within a huge ocean of water, than only a few watry clouds, whose black and lowering aspect is so very melancholy, that it gives the fairest representation imaginable of the terrors of a second universal deluge. Sometimes in three or four hours time, such showers fall from these full clouds, that the currents run along the streets, swelled to that height, that they are scarce fordable on horse-back. After this excess in July the showers gradually decrease, the horizon clears up like the first dawning of the day, till at length the heavens are all over bright, and the

benighted sun displays his vigour and banished rays again. Then do the Bannians endeavour to appease the incensed ocean by offerings to its enraged waves, and in great plenty throw their gilded coco-nuts into the sea to pacify its storms and fury, and render it peaceable and calm. And after these ceremonious oblations are past, the oraculous Bramins declare safety to the ships that will venture upon the ocean, before which not one of them will offer to weigh an anchor. The young boys are much delighted with this custom, for whatever coco-nuts are thrown into the water, they immediately swim in and fetch them out.

The Mussouns are the only season for watering of their fields, their meadows, and arable land. And for the preservation of this element, wherever they sow their rice, they endeavour to reduce the ground to a level, that nothing of this heavenly moisture may be lost.

The sun's approach to the natives of Europe promiseth them the fairest weather, and here the fowlest. The reason of which is his vertical exaltation, which with great violence exhales the vapours of the earth, and returns them as plentifully again. Therefore both under the equator and the tropic, when the sun has been in the zenith, I have perceived the air has been more temperate, and the weather cooler, than at ten or twelve degrees distance from it: And that abundant moisture which is always powerfully drawn up, near the equator, from which the sun is never very far distant, abates that scorching heat of his influence, which otherwise would be scarce tolerable to either animal or plant. And therefore in the middle of May, before the southerly winds set in, which bring the rains along with them, the air at Suratt is so very dry, that it licks up the moisture in the pen, before we are able to write it out; and so intensely hot, especially about three in the afternoon, that we cannot well endure the standing for any long time upon the grass, where the sun's beams have their full force. This causes our sprinkling the floors of our chambers frequently with water, to create a kind of fresco in them, during this season, and makes us employ our peons in fanning of us with murchals made of peacocks feathers, four or five foot long, in the time of our entertainments, and when we take our repose.

Now, as in other countries, the periods of the variety of weather are uncertain, the fair and foul succeeding one another with great variety and alteration; and as in India they have stated and fixt times without any doubtful vicissitudes, so likewise even there they do not observe throughout all places the same months. For upon the east side of Cape Comoria, on the coast of Coromondel, from April to September the weather is fair, and in the other months is the winter-like weather; whereas on the coast of Malabar, which lies to the west, the fair weather begins in September and ends in May. So that in passing overland from one coast to the other, the travellers, who are unacquainted with it, are at a stand to find two different seasons of winter and summer in 20 or 30 leagues distance. The rains likewise come from different quarters in these different regions: some from the south, some from the west, and some from the east. And at the Maldivé Islands, which are reckoned 12 thousand, the rains follow the course of the waters from the west, which are carried by an impetuous current for six months together towards the east, that is, from April to September; the other six months are hot and calm, with the winds settled from the east.

The Mussouns are rude and hoisterous in their departure, as well as at their coming in, which two seasons are called the Elephant in India, and just before their breaking up, take their farewell for the most part in very rugged huffing weather. As if they were constrained to force their entrance, and combat the fair seasons, before they could make way for their admittance; and were likewise resolved to try their utmost effort, sooner than tamely resign their empire, and quit the coast. For nature must needs be under great conflicts and disorder, by such a suddain change from an uninterrupted sunshine to such constant rains.

When once the Mussouns are past, the other months are under the serenest influence of the heavens, without one fertile cloud for several succeeding months visible in the whole firmament, but the chearful sun, from six to six, is never veiled with gloomy meteors, or eclipsed with dark and melancholy exhalations from the earth: But all the animal generations bask themselves in his warm rays, without any fear of rain, or

tempests, or chilly nipping weather. And now the vegetable race below, trees and corn, flowers and herbs grace the world with infinite variety of delightful forms, and pleasant colours, being refreshed by Nature's seminal juice, the plentiful showers that descended in the time of the Mussouns: Wherein several trees, by quenching their thirst with such a large draught at that season, maintain a flourishing verdure all the year round. And what is more remarkable, some of those trees will yield each night a quart of tary or toddy, though it be at eight months distance from the falling of the rains; the greedy soil imbibed at that time such a quantity of this pure liquor when it fell upon the earth. This gives India the lovely aspect of those blessed seats, which are sweetly described by the poet,

*Quas neque concutunt venti, neque nubila nimbis  
Aspergunt, neque nix acri concreta Pruina  
Cano cadens violat, semper que innubitus Ether  
Contegit, & late diffuso lumine ridet.*

But at Bombay, September and October, those two months which immediately follow the rains, are very pernicious to the health of the Europeans; in which two moons more of them die, than generally in all the year besides. For the excess of earthy vapours after the rains ferment the air, and raise therein such a sultry heat, that scarce any is able to withstand that feverish effect it has upon their spirits, nor recover themselves from those fevers and fluxes into which it casts them. And this the Indians remark concerning the excessive heats at this time, that they say, '*Tis September's sun which causeth the black list upon the antelope's back.*'

Thus I leave this description of the season and nature of the Mussouns, and return to Bombay, which is only a small island, situate in about nineteen degrees of north latitude, not eminent for any thing so much as its fort and harbour.

They have here abundance of coco-nuts, which bring some advantage to the owners, but very little either of corn or cattle, but what is imported from the adjacent country; and these not in great plenty, nor of very good growth. A sheep or two from Surat is an acceptable present to the best man upon the



island. And the unhealthfulness of the water bears a just proportion to the scarcity and meanness of the diet, and both of them together with a bad air, make a sudden end of many a poor sailer and souldier, who pay their lives for hopes of a livelihood. Indeed, whether it be that the air stagnates, for the land towards the fort lies very low, or the stinking of the fish which was used to be applied to the roots of the trees, instead of dung; or whatever other cause it is which renders it so very unhealthful, it is certainly a mortal enemy to the lives of the Europeans. And as the ancients gave the epithet of *Fortunate* to some islands in the west, because of their delightfulness and health; so the modern may, in opposition to them, denominate this the *Unfortunate* one in the east, because of the antipathy it bears to those two qualities. 187685

We arrived here (as I hinted before) at the beginning of the rains, and buried of the twenty-four passengers which we brought with us, above twenty. before they were ended; and of our own ship's company above fifteen: And had we stayed till the end of the next month, October, the rest would have undergone a very hazardous fate, which by a kind Providence ordering our ship for Suratt's river-mouth, was comfortably avoided. A fortunate escape indeed! because neither the commander, nor myself, were in any hopes of surviving many days: neither temperance, the most sovereign medicine, nor the safest prescriptions in the physical art, could restore the weakness of our languishing decayed natures. And that which thoroughly confirmed to us the unhealthfulness of the place we had lately loosed from, was the sudden desertion of our diseases, and return of health, before half the voyage to Suratt was finisht: In the middle of which passage we manifestly perceived in our bodies as evident an alteration and change of air for the best, as our palates could distinguish betwixt the taste of wine, and that of water.

The deputy-governour, Mr. George Cook, a pleasant and obliging gentleman, solicited me upon the account of my function to reside with him upon Bombay, and invited me with all the proposals of a frank and generous civility, to wave my voyage, and continue with him there, because they were then destitute of a minister. And indeed the deference I bore to such kind

expressions, and to the duty of my calling, were invincible arguments for my stay, had I not been satisfied of the immediate infallible sad fate I was under, like that of my predecessors; one of whom was interred a fortnight before this time, and three or four more had been buried the preceding years: Which common fatality has created a proverb among the English there, that *Two Mussoons are the age of a man*. This is much lamented by the East-India Company, and puts them upon great expences for supplying the island with fresh men, in the room of those that are taken away, and providing able surgeons, furnished with drugs and chests from Europe, to take care of the infirmaries, and all that are sick.

But there seldom happens any great defect in the natural world, without some preceding in the moral; and the springs of our miseries and misfortunes rise higher than merely from second causes. For I cannot without horror mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place, when the infection was most outrageous; nor can I but think that the divine justice interposed, and forwarded these fatal infelicities, which are not wholly imputable to an impure contagion of the air, or the gross infection of the elements. These were made use of as fatal instruments of the direful excision, but the true cause of the malady lay deeper. Their principles of action, and the consequent evil practices of the English forwarded their miseries, and contributed to fill the air with those pestilential vapours that seized their vitals, and speeded their hasty passage to the other world. Luxury, immodesty, and a prostitute dissolution of manners, found still new matter to work upon. Wickedness was still upon the improvement, and grew to such a perfection, that no vice was so detestable as not to be extremely vicious; whereby Satan obtained a more despotic authority in the hearts of the Christians, than he did among the gentiles in the pageantry of heathen worship. And when the seeds of avarice and prophaneness, of envy and injustice, and a thousand other black infernal vices grew up and flourished, and were made the ambition of every individual; we need not then admire, if the pure luminaries of heaven should set themselves against their impieties, and dart their mortal poysons on the earth; if the planets should

wisely shed their venomous aspects upon profligate men, and thereby in vengeance produce the mortal fruits of death.

The prodigious growth of vermin, and of venomous creatures, at the time of the Mussouns, do abundantly likewise demonstrate the malignant corruption of the air, and the natural cause of its direful effects upon the Europeans. For spiders here increase their bulk to the largeness of a man's thumb, and toads are not of a much less size than a small duck, whereby it is easily seen by these venomous creatures, what encouragement these infectious and pestilential qualities meet with in this place, and under what a contagious influence all the inhabitants must consequently be seated. This induced a gentleman one time in the governours and my Company, and some other persons of note, to affirm, that he believed it rained frogs; because he espied upon his hat small frogs, about the bigness of the end of one's finger, when he was at a great distance from any house or covering, from whence they might drop.

All wounds and contusions in the flesh are likewise very rarely healed here, and if they are, it is with difficulty and extraordinary care; they happen generally to be very dangerous, and the cure admits of more delays and hazards in the healing, than what is usual in other parts. But the corruption of the air has a more visible and immediate effect upon young English infants, whose tender spirits are less able to resist its impressions; so that not one of twenty of them live to any maturity, or even beyond their infant days. Were it otherwise, the island might in time be peopled with the Europeans transmitted thither, as the Western Islands are, which belong to the Crown of England. For the Company allow marriage to their factors, and liberty to young women to pass thither to gain husbands, and raise their fortunes. But so very few of their children live, and of those that do, so many of them are sent for England, that fresh colonies from thence are very necessary for supporting the government and affairs of the island. A modish garb and mien is all that is expected from any women that pass thither, who are many times matched to the chief merchants upon the place, and advance thereby their conditions to a very happy pitch. And considering what trouble attends the passage, especially of women, considering

the hazard, as well as length of the voyage, with some other casualties that sometimes happen on board, a modest woman may very well expect, without any great stock of honour or wealth, a husband of repute and riches there, after she has run all this danger and trouble for him. And indeed the fond indulgence of the husbands, as well as their wealth, is another valuable recompense to women for the toil and trouble of the voyage.

The island lies in about nineteen degrees north, in which is a fort, which is the defence of it, flanked and lined according to the rules of art, and secured with many pieces of ordinance, which command the harbour and the parts adjoining. In this one of the companies factors always resides, who is appointed governour to inspect and manage the affairs of the island, and who is vested with an authority in civil as well as military matters, to see that the several companies of soldiers which are here, as well as factors and merchants, attend their various stations, and their respective charge.

The island is likewise beautified with several elegant dwellings of the English, and neat apartments of the Portuguese, to whom is permitted the free exercise of their religion, and the liberty of erecting public chappels of devotion; which as yet the English have not attained to, because the war with the Mogul interrupts the finishing of a stately structure which was going on for their public church. For want of this a particular room is set apart in the fort for public service twice a day, at which all are enjoined to be present; and for performance of which, and other sacred offices, a salary of an 100 l. annually, besides the convenience of diet and lodging, is allowed to the minister by the Company.

The Gentiles too, as well as Christians, are permitted the freedom of their religion, and connived at in their heathen worship. I accidentally once entred into one of the Gentiles chappels, but durst not stay for fear of disturbing the Bramin with the visit. The smallness of it would scarce admit of above nine or ten to enter into it. At the remotest part of it was placed the pagod upon the ground, which was only a face formed of tin, with a broad flat nose, and eyes larger than a crown piece. On the right side of this image hung a small

purse for the peoples oblations; on the left, very near it, lay some burnt rice, which the Bramin had sacrificed; and at the entrance of the door stood a trumpet, which sounded all the while he was a sacrificing.

The island by the war with the Mogul was much depopulated and impoverished, both by destroying the English inhabitants, and wasting the fruit of the ground, especially of the coco-trees, whose nuts are the staple income upon it. And whatever the original of this unhappy war was in other places, or upon what other grounds soever it was commenced here, the English had some just cause of murmuring and complaint, from the treatment they had from the Mogul's officers at Suratt, very different from what they might in reason and equity expect. For at the first settling a factory there, it was agreed upon between the great Mogul and our president, to have a permission of free trade for two and an half per cent for all goods imported or exported; which were without any reason arbitrarily advanced to four per cent beyond the bounds of the first agreement. And upon this very occasion the late Honourable President Bartholomew Harris has urged to me often this case, that he thought it no injustice to evade the payment of as much customs for the English goods, as they were injured in them above two and an half per cent by the Mogul. But this was not the only severity the English were, and still are treated with; but before the eruption of this last war, the very plate gold buttons which the chief factors wore upon their clothes, were demanded to be paid Custom for, as often as they crossed the river of Suratt. This, to the purser marine particularly, was insufferable, whose employment engages him frequently at Sualy, to which he must always pass the river; inasmuch as in a short time the very intrinsic value of his gold buttons would be spent in Custom. And we are all sensible how hard these violent despotic proceedings bear upon English spirits, totally unaccustomed to such servility, and blessed with such paternal constitutions, as appoint the meanest subject absolute monarch of his petty freehold, exempt from all impositions, but what are voted by the Assembly of the whole kingdom, in its representatives

These, with other things, made a rupture; and after some small disputes at sea, at which the Indians are never vigorous,

the Mogul attempts the sending a land-army upon Bombay, whose Siddy or general having received intelligence of Sir John Wyburn's death, who was governor of Bombay, and a man bred to war, immediately prepares to land his men upon the island, and storm the fort, and totally rout the English upon it. For now the Siddy expected great success in his attempts, because he challenged our general at that weapon, in which he knew he was not skilled. Sir John Child, who was bred a merchant, and created baronet by the King, and appointed general of the English forces in India by the Company, was, he knew, a general but no souldier; and better skilled at his pen, than his sword; and more expert at casting an account, than in marshalling and conducting an army. And accordingly, his neglect of fortifying the island till the Siddy was upon it, though the Company had frequently required it from him, and his vain expressions, *That he would bring the Mogul to consent to his Proposals of Peace, and blow the Siddy off the Island, if he ever came upon it*; were all inconsistent frailties with his station, whose province and employment would have looked with a better character, had he foreseen the danger to which the island was exposed, and timely applied his prevention. But the merchant was unfit for that great post, and grew unwieldy with too much honour. The Siddy therefore in the year 1688 landed with an army of twenty-five thousand men, to encounter which the general commanded only twenty-five hundred, so that the enemy was just ten to one. Notwithstanding which odds the English kept them warmly in play, and for all that disadvantage, repulsed them with such vigour, that for some months they were unable to approach the fort, though they landed not very far from it. The English were bouyed up with a strong opinion of their own valour, and of the Indians pusillanimity, which carried them on to such bold adventures, that they promised themselves victory in the most dubious engagements; and had they not been betrayed by renegades, who discovered their weakness, and smallness of their numbers, might have hoped to have repelled that numerous host, with that weak force they had to resist them. But the enemy being taught the art of mineing, and sheltering themselves in their trenches and basket-works, (which they learnt from the deserters) came at length so

near, that they bombarded our fort with massie stones instead of iron bullets, whilst our shot from thence was scarce able to annoy them, they were so defended by the moulds they had cast up. Our fort was well flanked with bastions, having the sea on one side, and encompassed on the other with a broad and deep ditch, and had mounted on all sides very large guns: But the decay of powder and ammunition, which the constant firing had produced, and the Mogul's army close investing of the fort, made it advisable in our general to think on a peace, which was in a little time concluded upon; upon which the Siddy left the island.

The general, before the terms of accommodation were agreed upon, dies; by a too deep concern, as its presumed, for suffering the Siddy to invade the island; and for fear that such proposals in a firmaun as might suit with the honour of his masters the East India Company, might not be hearkned to by the Mogul. He was a quick and expert merchant, and totally devoted to his masters service: Though the factors in India charge him with partiality to his relations, in advancing them to stations above their standing, to the prejudice of those who were their seniors, and better qualified for such promotions. They accuse him likewise of a penurious temper, and injuriously depriving them of the comfort of Europe liquors, which the Company's bounty yearly bestowed, that he might the better ingratiate with his masters for sparing their expences, though it were a diminution both to their credit and their factors health.

He amassed abundance of wealth during his stay, which was more than twenty years in India; the least conjecture which is made of it is 100000*l*. His lady, whom he left behind him, who is famed for piety, charity, and an agreeable behaviour, is since married to Mr. George Weldon, fit to succeed him in his fortune and his bed. He is a gentleman well descended, of easie and obliging converse, extreme temperate and circumspect, and manages the affairs of the island, wherein he now as deputy-governour presides, with the universal esteem and approbation of all upon it. The wealth which the general's lady and children do possess, demonstrates to what height of fortune the Companies servants may advance, when their diligence and fidelity

engage the bounty and countenance of their masters to encourage them.

I shall remark but one thing to entertain the reader, and conclude this part of my discourse. As he whose title is most Christian, encouraged him who is its principal adversary to invade the rights of Christendom, so did senior Padre de Pandara, the principal Jesuite in an adjacent island to Bombay, invite the Siddy to exterminate all the Protestants there. To facilitate which pious design, he allowed the Siddy's army all the revenues belonging to himself to aid and support the work that was to be carried on. But with this proviso, that when the English were beaten off, their possessions, and of all the churches belonging to the Portuguese, should be restored to him, for his own benefit and use. This Padre likewise, when the Siddy had invaded the island, plentifully supplied his want of provisions, and with great liberality took care to have them seasonably conveyed to him and his army. But the Siddy being beaten off, these and such other perfidious actions have forfeited all the right of the Portuguese to those lands and estates, which the favour and civility of the English allowed them to enjoy upon the island; and therefore this Padre and his associates are more likely to suffer a disseizing of what they had, than the English, as they designed. This breeds no small heat and fury in the breasts of the turbulent Jesuites, who upon this have raised some strong commotions; it has excited their revenge, and makes them sometimes threaten in a passionate rage the retaking of their lands by force. Few men can enjoy very peaceable lives, who have any fair possessions near the convents of these men: For even in the Indies they have gained that ascendant over the tempers and estates of the people, that a pleasant seat, and a fruitful plantation, can hardly escape their gaining: Which renders that society a burden insupportable to all the rest of that religion, who are seated there. The incomes of that church, whereof this Padre is chief, shews in some measure their growing wealth; for they are said to amount to the value of a pound of gold a day.



## THE ISLAND OF ELEPHANTA

AT three leagues distance from Bombay is a small island called Elephanta, from the statue of an elephant cut in stone, in equal proportions to one of those creatures in his full growth. This figure is placed in the middle of a field, conspicuous to any passenger that enters upon that part of the island. Here likewise are the just dimensions of an horse carved in stone, so lively, with such a colour and carriage, and the shape finisht with that exactness, that many have rather fancied it, at a distance, a living animal, than only a bare representation. These figures have been erected not barely for displaying the statuary's skill, or gratifying the curiosity of the sight, but by their admirable workmanship were more likely designed to win upon the admiration, and thereby gain a kind of religious respect from such heathens as came near them.

But that which adds the most remarkable character to this island, is the famed Pagode at the top of it, so much spoke of by the Portuguese, and at present admired by the present Queen Dowager, that she cannot think any one has seen this part of India, who comes not freighted home with some account of it. A Pagode is the heathens temple, or a place dedicated to the worship of their false gods, and borrows its name from the Persian word Pout, which signifies idol, thence Pout Gheda, a temple of false gods, and from thence, Pagode.

At the ascent of an high hill upon this island Elephanta, is therefore a very large Indian Pagode, cut out of the very heart of a hard rock, whose dimensions are about an hundred and twenty foot square, and in height about eighteen, besides several out-rooms appertaining and adjoining to it. At sixteen foot distance from one another are sixteen pillars of stone, cut out with much art and ingenuity, whose diameters are three foot and an half, designed as it were for the support of this weighty building, whose roof is a lofty broad rock. Out of the sides of this Pagode, thus beautified with these lovely columns and curious arches, are figures of forty or fifty men, each of them twelve or fifteen foot high, in just and exact symetry, according to the dimensions of their various statures. Of these gigan

tic figures, some had six arms, and others three heads, and others of such vast monstrosity, that their very fingers were larger than an ordinary man's leg. Upon some of their heads were ornamental crowns, neat and artificially wrought, whilst others near them held scepters in their hands, and above the heads of others are multitudes of little people represented in a posture of devotion; some I observed leaning upon women, and others upon the head of a cow, an animal most venerable in India. Here are some taking an amiable charming lady by the chin, and there the horrid prospect of others hewing in pieces little children; and generally above the heads of all, are abundance of diminutive folk hovering in the air, represented with cheerful aspects, and in lively figures. This variety of pleasant and monstrous images, I lookt upon as no other than the several objects of the Gentiles worship, as each adorer's fancy led him to his several god, either of terror or delight

There is nothing of beauty in the frontispiece of this Pagode, or of ornament at the entrance into it. The figures of these gigantic men, to which the heathen have paid a profound veneration, and revered as heroes or demi-gods formerly, (for this island is at present in the possession of the Portuguese) are the representation of the first race of mortals, which, according to the account of their chronicles, were all gyants, but dwindled by degrees into lesser proportions, and at length, through the degeneracy of manners, which caused an universal decay of humane nature, they shrunk into these small proportions in which they appear now in the world. So that the present smallness of our stature, according to them, derives its declension and decay from the excess of vice, and the small remains of vertue that are left. And because the forming of a temple out of such hard matter, required incredible endless pains, therefore they would insinuate that these giants here expressed, were only capable of such performances, which seem now to exceed that ordinary strength we have now to go through with such a work.

About the middle of September, 1690, when the *Mussouns* were broken up, we were ordered for *Suratt*, which was very agreeable to all on board. In our passage we met with a puny sort of pirates called *Sanganians*, who finding us a ship of force,

durst not attempt upon us. But a fortnight before this time, a small English ship of no countenance, was encountered by two of these Sangamians, and boarded by them. This the English master scarce resisted, because he had fitted his ship for a close fight, and therefore withdrawing his men from the decks, prepared them with small fire-arms, and put the powder chests in order, on purpose to receive them. The Sangamians, who fancied all their own ease purchase, were so warmly entertained, that as soon as they entered, they were repulsed, and speedily withdrew, betaking themselves to the water, to evade the fury of the fire on board.

In a little time we happily arrived at Sualy-bar, and the tide serving, came to an anchor very near the shoar. Here the Europe ships are permitted to ride, but no Indian vessel is allowed that freedom, they are either all of them to enter the river of Suratt, or to anchor at the mouth of it; which is distant from Sualy two leagues, as Sualy is from Suratt four. Here the ships load and unload their goods, which are kept in yards and ware-houses, to be ready to be shipped off upon occasion. When the Benjamin had unloaded her cargo here, after a long voyage at sea, the commander ordered her to be cleaned; and thereupon he found a multitude of large, well-tasted oysters, which grew upon the bottom of the ship, with which he feasted his sea-men, and all the English at Suratt.

Within less than half a mile from the sea are three Choultries or convenient lodgings made of timber, for the English, French, and Dutch factors, at a bow-shoot distance each from other; and made fit for their reception by variety of apartments; at such times as they are called down to look after the ships cargoes, or to recreate themselves in the country air, and with fresh breezes from the sea. Here therefore we came on shore, and met with an agreeable reception and kind entertainment from the English factors: And the Sualy Marine being the first land we set foot upon belonging to the great Mogul, I shall in the first place speak something particularly concerning that mighty monarch, and then proceed to a larger account of the city and inhabitants of Suratt.

## OF THE GREAT MOGUL

ASIA we know was the first stage of mortals, which both for riches and extent, is the most considerable part of our tripartite continent, and enjoys a temperature of air, by its convenient position, equally superiour to both. And as it was the first original of mankind, by a peculiar favour from the supreme author of the world; so was it likewise of nations and kingdoms, of monarchies and empires, whose laws as well sacred as civil, were formed here; and those diviner mysteries of the Jewish as well as Christian religion were first explained. But what adds the greatest glory to the place, is, that the sacred author of our faith here drew his breath, and restored lost mankind by his death.

Magasthenes reports, that 122 several nations were the old inhabitants of Asia, which was first invaded by Semiramis, afterwards by Bacchus, accompanied with Hercules, who taught them the use of wine, (which now they have unlearned), of oil, and architecture. And indeed all humane arts and sciences, as well as architecture had their rise, and were first taught here, which gives it a just cause of challenging a precedence to all other parts of the world. India, which is one of its chief kingdoms, in latter days was discovered by the Portuguese, in the year 1486, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope; and since by the English and the Dutch, who make a greater figure now than those more early discoverers, are possessed of some of their principal forts and factories, and daily out-do them in carrying on a vigorous beneficial negotiation in all parts.

And as the riches and extent of Asia surpass the other quarters of the world; so has it raised its monarchs to a point of grandeur equally glorious and renowned. And that spacious body which is awed by the Indian scepter, is reputed to be one of the most famous and greatest, not only of all Asia, but of all this globe of earth besides. And if we consider the diamonds and other stones of value, the gold and other metals, the spices and druggs, the silks and cottons, and the vast prodigious quantities of all those rich commodities and precious stones, with which India abounds, we cannot deny it that transcend-

ency which its monarch pretends to, of being superior to other nations of the earth, and that it yields the palm to none besides.

The Indian emperour, commonly stiled the Mogul, deduces that title from the last conquerors of India, who were white of complexion; which is the name of a potent people inhabiting a vast country in the confines of Tartary, from whom they derive their name and descent; and though the native Indians are all of an olive tawny colour, yet these are all white and fair, and of the same belief with their emperour, which is the Mahometan: Because Emmaupaxda, the seventh descendant from Tamerlane, being once much distressed by the Parthians or Tartars, was driven to sue for relief from his neighbouring potentate the emperour of Persia, which was harkened to upon these terms, that he should convert to the Persian faith, and submit himself and followers to that religion.

Tamerlane (that is lame, because one of his legs was shorter than the other) was the first of the kings of India, from whom his successors boast their original. He was born in Samerchandia, a place in Tartary, and lived about the year 1398, in the reign of Richard the Second. And that we may not defraud this mighty hero of his valour and renown, the glory of his conquests has certainly far out-done the noblest exploits of any of the Roman Caesars, and the fortune of his arms has gone beyond the successes of Alexander the Great. So that all the registers and archives of ancient heroes, and all the annals of Grecian or Roman achievements, cannot furnish us with memoirs of this nature. For he extended his conquests from East to West, and carried his triumphant banners from China to Poland, whereby he made all Asia tremble, which was a victory exceeding the actions of the bravest and most fortunate captains of former ages. From him Aureng-Zebe is the eleventh, who possesseth the crown of India; and well may this great emperor exalt his pedigree, and value his descent from so famed and glorious an ancestor, when that wise and powerful nation of the Romans built so much of their honour and renown upon two such ancestors as Romulus and Remus. The mighty deeds and renowned exploits of Schah Abbas, the Persian emperor, have likewise imprinted eternal characters of fame

and honour upon his name, which is now by vulgar use made the signification of any thing extraordinary or miraculous; so that when any thing surpassing excellent, or wonderful, is either done or spoken, the Indians presently say of it, Schah-Abbas!

But had Aureng-Zebe been more industrious in imitating the virtues of his progenitors, than in raising himself to a long and proud series of their titles, and less cruel in his bloody accession to the crown; this would have added more splendour to his throne, than all that matchless grandeur with which it is adorned by diamonds, emeralds, topazes and pearls, and would have given a truer and more lasting nobility to his name, than to have gained it with infamy and repeated murder. The Roman histories inform us, that while that people was just and temperate, and religious observers of their laws, their empire was established in its glory, and success attended their arms and designs. And concerning the Chinese history, it is affirmed to us, that virtue alone formed that great empire, and that nothing concurred to its confirmation more than the virtuous lives of their emperors; in so much that forty-four kings enamoured with the virtue of Venvam, submitted to his laws. But few of the eastern kingdoms besides, are qualified for such a boast as this. Their emperors generally sheath their swords in the blood of all that stand competitors for the sovereignty, though they be the sons of the same parent, and obliged by a natural tenderness and compassion to the mutual offices of humanity and love. For divesting themselves of these principles, and being whetted with an innate ambition for empire and command, and led by the in-bred laws of self-preservation, they pursue their claims to the royal dignity, either by open violence, or secret machinations, by private treachery, or public hostility; not sparing the slaughter of their brethren, or pretenders to the crown. This is the inhumane method pursued not only by the Ottaman, but Indian kings, from which Aureng-Zeba did not decline, in his cruel and treacherous ascent to the throne. For his father Chahahan he imprisoned, till he died: The head of his eldest brother, Daracha, he commanded to be cut off; his second brother, Sultan Sujah, he put to flight, who was slain in his retirement, and his youngest brother, Morad-Bacche had the same ill

fate with the eldest, was beheaded too. Nor was this enough to satiate his cruelty, or stop his revenge, but though he saved Rauchenara-Begum, his favourite sister for assisting his designs; yet the other, Begum-Saheb, fell a victim to his fury, and was presumed to be taken off by poison, for her fidelity to her father in his distress. Thus a father and four children were sacrificed to the jealousy and malice of a victorious brother, who by policy and profound dissimulation gained the crown, and pursuing his good fortune with success, was seated and established in the throne of his fathers; and notwithstanding all those execrable villanies, he lived a long time full of years, a standing monument of the divine infinite clemency and forbearance.

The crown of India is not intailed by primogeniture on the sons, but is ravished by force, or carried by craft of such as do stand in competition for it, who to facilitate the access to it, ingratiate with the Omrahs and grandees at court, with the governours of provinces, and principal ministers of state, to fortify their pretensions, and secure parties to themselves both in the cities and the camp, against the time they begin to skirmish for the royal inheritance, and try their wit and valour for the Indian diadem in the field. And as the Japaners, in laying the foundation of a palace, rip up their bowels with a cric, or dagger, and so sacrifice themselves, imagining that such voluntary victims are necessary to render both the owners of the building and the habitation fortunate; so is it the misfortune of the eastern courts, that they think not the throne, to which they are advanced, secure, or settled, without laying the foundation of their reign in the destruction of all rivals to the crown, and in the blood of their nearest relatives, that can pretend to the imperial dignity; and make such barbarous sacrifices necessary, for repairing and securing their own undisturbed tranquility and ease.

Till he was possessed of the arms and treasure of his brother Morad-Bacche, whom he betrayed by fair pretences of friendship, the kindest caresses and expressions of endearment; Aureng-Zebe pretended himself devoted to austerity, and that he would rank himself among the religious Faquires, or Derviches of the kingdom, to spend his days in poverty and abstinence, and a private retired life; by which new strain of

policy, and the mask of extraordinary sanctity, he gained upon the credulity of the people, as an holy undesigning prince; till by this pious design he craftily undermined the opposers of his honour and empire, and making use of religious intrigues, and the help of the planet Mercury, he soon became victorious, and got Mars the ascendant of his better fortunes: And by these pretensions to uncommon holiness, he made way for the perpetration of such execrable crimes, as are not very commonly heard of. But if we may measure our opinions by his, and the maxims he has laid down for empire, his proceedings will not appear so very black and criminal, since he has persuaded himself that princes are exempt from several of those laws which bind their subjects, and that sovereign heads are not so severely accountable for the justice of their actions, as the inferiour rank of men. As if the despotic sovereignty he exercised on earth, gave him a privilege and charter for the same arbitrary proceedings with heaven, and that he might in some measure act as absolutely with the supreme lord of the creation, as he does incontrollably with his own subjects.

The unnatural methods he pursued in wresting the crown from the head of his father, cautions him from giving the least opportunity for such rebellious practices in his sons, and to prevent all occasions for such bold and bloody enterprizes. Only Cha-Egber his fourth son, who was born of a resbout, whose sect among all the rest of the Indian inhabitants are justly reputed the most valiant, was encouraged by them to attempt the crown, and depose his father from the sovereignty. These resbouts were engaged in an universal revolt, formed a formidable army, and placed Cha-Egber, who was descended from them by his mother, at the head of it, that they might raise him betimes to the monarchy of India, lest his eldest brother should get the start of him, and succeed in the government of that vast empire, after his father's death. Aureng-Zebe not dreaming of such an attempt, lay very open to surprisal by this barbarous design, for want of forces at that time to guard and secure him. And therefore upon his son's advancement to the capital city, betook himself to stratagem instead of arms, and penned a letter in his son's name, directed to himself, to this effect, *That he was too sensible of his duty, to dare to proceed*



in that disturbance, which the resbouts had raised against his person and his kingdom, and therefore he led the ring-leaders and the rest of the offenders towards the capital city, to be seized on by the guards within, that they might be delivered up to justice, and condign punishment, according to their demerits, which would prove an unquestionable argument to satisfy his father of his fidelity. This letter was sent by a faithful servant of Aureng-Zebe's into his son's camp, who pretended to come from him to his father, but was there stopped, and the letter opened and read; and, the resbouts upon it were so enraged, that all the protestations Cha-Egber could make were impossible to appease them, or perswade their engagement of themselves any longer in his service. Some therefore left him, and others refused to advance a step forwards, till Aureng-Zebe had time given him to unite his strength, and muster his forces, whereby he vanquishd the enemy, and forced his son to a speedy flight. In this disgrace and haste he fled to Persia, where he was honourably entertained by that emperour, with all those lords that attended his flight; and is since married at that court to the emperour's daughter. He daily waits for some favourable revolution when he may return to India again, whither he hopes to be recalled by his father's death; and with the powerful alliance and aid of Persia, and the united interest of his friends in India, he expects to gain the crown he unfortunately lost, and establish his glory in that kingdom, to which he is now forced to continue an exile.

Whenever the Indian emperour is proclaimed, it is with public jubilee, with songs and music, mirth and revellings, with fireworks and gawdy shows in all parts of the kingdom; on this day their ships hang out their flags and ensigns, and expose their pendants not only at the top-mast-head, but deck the shrowds with ten or twenty more. The crown he wears is of invaluable price, and the throne he ascends is reckoned at 300 lac of rupees. Each lac is one hundred thousand rupees, which with us is 11250 l. Sterling, reckoning a rupee at 2s. 3d. Neither are these solemnities observed upon an anniversary day only, according to European customs, but in cities, garrisons, and places of note, it obtains a weekly celebration, not with extraordinary illuminations, and public joyful feasts, but with something of mirth and music more than usual. Sunday is the day

of the inauguration of the present Mogul, and solemnized with the music of the trumpets at Suratt in the castle there, I wish when first I saw it, that they had converted the civil into a religious observation of that day.

There is another day in India, as well as England, which is eminently remarkable, the 5th of November. This day the great Mogul is weighed, and if it is found that he has increased in bulk, above what he weighed the preceding year, this adds excess of mirth and joy to the solemnity; but if he prove lighter in the scales, this diminishes their triumphs, and damps their cheerful entertainments. The grandees and officers of state prepare for this feast, two months before its approach, what costly jewels and curious rarities they can any where meet with, which they present to the emperor at this ceremony; either to secure his favour, or to ingratiate with him for a more exalted station, or honourable employ. The Moguls are sometimes weighed against silver, which has been distributed to the poor.

When any Indian subject stands so fair in the eye of his prince, as to be raised to some advanced degree of trust or honour, he acquires at the same time a new name, according to the prince's fancy; according to what we read in *Dan.* l.7. Thus the preceding governour of Suratt was named Muck Teer Chan, i.e. Lord after my own Heart; the present is stiled Anamat Chan, or Conscientious Lord, because of his fidelity and integrity. For all the lands of Indostan belonging intirely to the Mogul, the Omrahs there cannot derive their titles from their earldoms, lordships, or mansion-houses (as with us) because they are none of their propriety, only tenants at will, during the Mogul's pleasure; and therefore the Mogul confers upon them such names of dignity, as by their personal conduct or accomplishment he thinks they merit. And as he bestows titles proper to his generals, of invincible or victorious; so to his nabobs, or governours, he bethinks himself of names suitable to their stations, or his opinion of their excellencies and endowments. This is a common thing practised likewise in other kingdoms of the east, as at Siam; the king there gives names not only to his domestics and mandarins, or nobles, but to his very elephants. Though his own name is industriously concealed, lest his enemies by some

enchantment might work upon it. Thus Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-Paaneah, *Gen.* 41.45. and Job called his eldest daughter Jemimah, i.e. clear as the day: The 2nd Keziah, i.e. pleasant as cassia, or sweet spice: The 3rd Keren-happuck, that is horn, or strength of beauty

The dependance upon the prince's favour makes obsequiousness fashionable, and flattery practised in all the courts of the east: So that though they require an account of their affairs, and expect to be informed; yet they think it a diminution to their grandeur, to be acquainted with any thing that may disgust, or told any thing that looks displeasing. Except among the Chinese, with whom the liberty of admonishing their emperor was established by a law, which impowred them to use importunate applications to him upon any failure, and caused them instantly to remind him of taking care of his life and actions, and that the virtuous pattern of his royal behaviour, was the best and only method for deriving justice, integrity, and loyalty upon his magistrates and people. They likewise admonished him, that if he deviated from the transcendant virtues of his ancestors, his subjects would inevitably digress from their duties of allegiance and fidelity to him. For it is a received maxim among those people, *That the subjects are like ears of corn, wherewith a field is covered, and the morals of their emperor are like a wind, which inclines them which way it pleaseth.*

But the Indian emperours are incontrollable in what they say, as well as in their actions; so far, that it is an allowed maxim in this court, *That if they say at noon-day it is night, you are to answer, Behold the moon and the stars!* This flattery of their subjects has made them fancy themselves more than demi-gods, and vaunt themselves in the most exorbitant swelling titles. Thus the emperor of Japan calls himself son of the sun; and for this reason, when the imperial diadem is upon his head, will never after appear in the sight of the moon, for fear of debasing his greatness, and because he thinks it would eclipse his glory. Thus the present Mogul's father stiled himself Chajehan, i.e. king of the world: and the name of Aureng-Zeb imports the ornament of the throne; the titles of the king of Bijnagar are no less extravagant than the rest, they are these, the husband of good fortune, the god of great provinces, king

amount to above three hundred and thirty French millions, which does more than double the incomes of any the most potent monarchs on earth.

The vast tract of land to which this large empire is extended, reaches near 2,000 miles in length, some say more; which makes it necessary for the Mogul, whose territories are so large, to employ a numerous army to awe his infinite multitude of people, and keep them in an absolute subjection. Several hundred thousand soldiers are the least that are maintained in pay, some affirm he allows pay for one million of horses, and for every horse and man about eighteen pounds, whose wages seldom run on beyond a month or two, because by them they have their only subsistence. And did he not constantly clear their arrears, and keep on foot continually such a potent army, he could never be able to command the turbulent rajahs, nor prevent their plots and insurrections; who notwithstanding frequently molest his government, pretend a right to their conquered dominions, and raise armies against him with that tribute which they refuse to pay. But sure it were better, instead of all those needless repeated conquests, he could assure himself of fixing an empire in the hearts of loyal, though less numerous subjects.

The frequent revolts in India render those parts very miserable, and reduce the inhabitants to a very distressed state. For hoping to retrieve their liberty, and regain the kingdoms they have lost, they often declare for a rajah, which is a native Indian prince, and stand by him till the Mogul overpowers their forces, defeats their rebellion, stints their progress, and reduces them to a tame obedience again. So that one while the Mogul comes upon a city, and demands the contribution of so many thousand gold moors, or else he threatens the raising its foundations, pillaging the houses, and converting them into smoke and flames. When he is retreated, the rajah's army flies upon them with fury and hunger, and storms their towns, and threatens them with fire and sword as their inevitable fate, if they offer to delay the payment of so many thousand gold rupees more. Or if these formidable threats are not listened to, they take that by rapine, which was civilly demanded, ravage the country, and load themselves with plunder and spoil. Which makes fear and distress, poverty and famine the universal air and genius

of those unquiet abodes. This was the unhappy condition of Surat, An. 1664, when rajah Sivagy plundered it for forty days together, carried off in gold, silver, and jewels and infinite sum, without sparing any part of it, but the habitations of the English and French, and the castle, who defended themselves with their canon.

Sometimes the conquest of one part of the kingdom is the loss of another, for that rajah who without reluctance submitted to the Mogul's power, while his camp was near, immediately disclaims it, when he knows it at a distance; which commotions bring on the Mogul endless troubles and expence.

A mighty rajah is now abroad, in his expedition to the coast of Choromandel, where he expects recruits of men and money; he has secured a strong party upon the coast of Malabar, and it is believed will in a short time appear in the field with very potent forces. If his martial arms be proportionably as extensive as his natural, they will certainly reach very far, and stretch his authority farther than any potentates in the east; for they are so long, that as he stands, his hands reach down below his knees. And may be the Indians, who upon this account are apt to harbour superstitious thoughts concerning him, may be the easier won to his alliance and designs; if this be not a feigned report.

The Mogul's army are pursuing their conquests with all vigour towards Cape Comeron, the southermost promontory of India, where are several inferior princes not yet attempted upon, the conquering of whom takes up the thoughts, and is the main object of Aureng-Zebe's ambition.

Besides the vast army which is always incamped, and ready for any expedition and onset, the several nabobs and viceroys are obliged to keep continually in pay considerable forces, for maintaining their own port, and the peace of the provinces where they preside. Sovereign princes do not exceed some of these in point of state and income. The nabob or governor of Bengal was reputed to have left behind him at his death, twenty crores of rupees. A crore is an hundred thousand lacs, a lac is an hundred thousand rupees, a padan is an hundred thousand crores, a nil is an hundred thousand padans; lacs, crores, padans and nils, rise by a gradual advancement of an hundred thousand higher one than another.

Aureng-zebe seldom leaves the camp, but both he and his harem keep their tents winter and summer in the field. His numerous army has a daily supply of all provisions and necessities from all parts of the empire, in as great plenty and order as any of its cities can afford them; and whatever the kingdom yields, may be with as much ease purchased here, as in any public fair. So that there is always in the camp a multitude of people brought thither, as large almost as the army, who come thither, some out of curiosity, others out of friendship and relation, but the most for sale of their goods, which the soldiers take off, by whom they live, and from whom they have their subsistence

Wherever the Mogul removes his camp, the generals and officers, as well as private centinels, still pitch their tents in the same position and place in respect to his, and one another, as they formerly were posted in; so that he who once knows where such a captain had his standing, may readily be directed to it, though he has decamped from the place he left an hundred miles. For all are obliged to the same distance, and to the same station and quarter in relation to one another, and the emperor's tent, in whatever ground they pitch their tents.

Before the Mogul begins to move his camp, to set out upon a progress, or undertake any small journey; and before any omrah, or person of note sets forward to travel, the way they must pass is measured out by line, by a servant appointed for that trouble; and a just account both of the distance and number of miles is brought to them, before the journey is begun and so exact are they in maintaining this piece of Indian state. of measuring the road, that though they have travelled that way often, and are sufficiently knowing in all its paths, yet without this ceremony they are loath to stir.

Besides the army, and the several nabobs and governors of provinces and cities, of towns and castles, which drain his treasure, and put him upon immense expenses, the Indian emperor maintains daily at least four or five hundred elephants, with camels, mules, and other beasts of burthen; some for the war, and others for his women and attendants, his carriage and provisions in the field. The principal of all his stately campaign elephants has a stated extraordinary allowance of sugar mixed

with his provender, and jaggary rack, which is a kind of Aqua Vitoë, with his water; which consume the Mogul five hundred rupees every month, that is, near sixty pounds sterling.

These mighty animals are in high esteem in all the oriental kingdoms, especially at Siam, whose sovereign is renowned for his respect to the white elephant, upon the persuasion he has of its being inspired with the soul of some supreme prince. And from the bulk and strength, the sensibleness and docility of that creature, they infer commonly, that nothing less than the soul of some illustrious prince, or mighty hero, can animate it, and be received into a body so stately and large. The Achen elephants are most looked upon for their teeth, because that ivory they say, maintains its whiteness, and turns not yellow, as other does. They say that it is thirty years before the elephants come to their full growth.

The wild elephants, which the Mogul and other princes keep tame, are taken different ways. Sometimes by digging pits in the ground, and covering them with false earth, in the paths frequented by the elephants, which walking upon it deceives their weight, and suddenly they drop down. But if the unweildy animal chances to evade this covert contrivance, he grows very vigilant ever after, and warily with his trunk examines all suspected ground he is likely to tread upon. Sometimes they decoy the male with a female elephant bred up for that purpose, which leads him into a narrow passage, hedged in so strongly on both sides with trunks of trees, and many pieces of timber, that he can neither turn about his monstrous body to step backwards, nor remove with all his mighty strength the obstacles that inclose and barricade him, till he is chafed and spent, and thoroughly entangled. After this he is taken and led home between two others that are tame, and his wildness presently wears off, and in less than a fortnight's time he quietly submits to discipline, bethinks himself, and grows familiar. The female elephant receives the male lying upon her back, contrary to the custom of other animals; and the male is said to carry his testicles between his ears. After they are taken they seldom engender, though sometimes they burn with a lustful heat, which is not extinguished but by fire brought near them, or the blood of the riders, if they chance at that time to be upon them.

The princes of Indostan who attend the court, and all the omrahs and principal officers of the crown, observe always a due respect, and keep a convenient distance to the awful person of the emperor. So that whenever he thinks fit to ascend an elephant, and mount himself on that lofty creature to take the air, the omrahs, in a lower order, ride only upon horses. When he seats himself in his palanquin, then do they walk in a lowly posture on foot after him, showing in all things a submissive deference to his greatness, and profound respect to his eminently august majesty: And till he gives the word, no man dares mount before him. And as if the words of his mouth were oracular, no sentence of moment proceeds from the emperor, but the omrahs greedily catch it, and cry out, *Karamat! Karamat!* Wonder! Wonder! And if any person of note in India is seen by an inferior at a distance, both on horseback, the meaner person lights from his horse, and there stands till his superior passes by him.

The Mahometan religion, of which the Mogul is a zealous professor, is that which is spread very far, and is chiefly countenanced in India; the Mogul never neglecting the hours of devotion, nor any thing, which in his sense may denominate him a sincere believer; insomuch that there spread a report, a little before I left Surat, that his ardent zeal had carried him to design a long pilgrimage for Mecca, to visit the venerable shrine of their false prophet. His eldest son Sultan Mozum was to be left inheritor of the throne, to secure his peaceable possession; yet would not this defend the claims from the royal brothers, who are ready to dispute it with their wit and courage, with all the force and art of war. And it is not unlikely, whenever the crown becomes vacant, and is under a contest, but that Chagber, son-in-law to the Persian emperor, will in that martial lottery gain the prize, and defeat the other pretenders. Which if it should happen, and the English should be assisting to his designs at that time, either by accommodating him with ships from Gomborne, or befriending him at Surat, they might expect very considerable advantages in their trade and customs, both in India and the Persian Gulph.

The Mogul delights much in proselyting all the rajahs he conquers, and bringing them to the Mahometan faith, which



has much exasperated those grandees, and the gentile sects of his kingdom. And he was so sensibly taken with a horse presented to him by an English merchant, that he commanded him to be fed near his own apartment, and to be frequently brought forth before him, to delight his eyes with the daily pleasant spectacle; for no other reason, but because he observed him match a horse which Mahomet was wont to ride, and nearly resembled in shape and colour, as he somewhere read, a stately steed of the grand prophet's

The whole kingdom of Indostan is entirely the possession of the Mogul's, who appoints himself heir to all his subjects; so that neither the widow, nor children of a general, can peremptorily challenge one piece after his decease, without the emperor's bounteous indulgence. He that tills the ground, and spends his time in agriculture, is allowed half the product for his pains, and the other moiety is reserved for the king, which is collected by under-officers, who give in their accounts to the superiors in the provinces, and they discount to the public exchequer. Only for the encouragement of trade in cities and maritime towns, he dispenses with the merchants building their houses, and the propriety of them descending in their families; very few are allowed paternal inheritances; but even all this is the extraordinary grace and favour of the prince, and revocable at his pleasure. His will likewise is the law, and his word incontestably decides all controversies among them. So that he is the main ocean of justice and equity, and from him all the smaller rivulets of wealth flow, and to him they all pay tribute, and return again. He generally determines with exact justice and equity; for there is no pleading of peeridge or privilege before the emperor, but the meanest man is as soon heard by Aureng-zebe as the chief omrah. Which makes the omrahs very circumspect of their actions, and punctual in their payments; because all complaints against them are readily adjusted, and they never want jealous rivals at court who are willing to bring them into disgrace with their king for any fault.

Since the conquest of Viziapur, the diamond mines are claimed and possessed by the Indian emperor, who for some time since thought fit to shut them up. They formerly paid to the King of Golconda so much hourly for the liberty of digging,

whether they were fortunate in finding any diamond or no; a Pagod, which is a piece of gold valued there at nine shillings, was the stated price for an hours time. We have an account, that he reserved another diamond ground in his country for his own use, which yielded him daily several ounces, whenever he employed his labourers to work, which were reckoned to be near six thousand, whose very wages consumed a great part of the gains.

Those that dig the ground are narrowly looked to, and examined at their departure, that nothing be privately conveyed or stole away; and yet they sometimes escape all discovery, by slipping a stone into their mouths, or thrusting it upwards in their lower parts, or by bribing of the overseers. By this means we sometimes meet with large stones very valuable. Two I saw at Surat, the smaller was a sort of table-diamond, rated at twelve thousand pounds; the other was larger, and exceeded the price of the other almost eight thousand pounds. All stones of such a size are royalties, and sacred to the crown; and whoever finds them. or wheresoever they are heard of, they are presently seized, and taken for the use of the Mogul. Therefore the owner of these noble diamonds solemnly engaged our secrecy, and bound us to silence, before we were permitted a sight of them. The stones of India are not so rich, or of equal repute with those of the island Borneo, whose sparkling and brightness gives a glorious and surpassing splendour. The diamonds are found rough, covered with a coat or shell, which is taken off, and then the diamond is polished, and cut in such figures, as the natural shape of the stone, or the design of the lapidary inclines to. The art of discerning the excellence of diamonds by the eye, is very curious; because there is such an affinity between the brightness of stones, that some eminent Indian jewellers have been imposed upon by false ones brought from Europe, because they shot such rays, and the lustre with which they shined was so extraordinary. But the hammer and scales discovered that fallacy, which the eyes could not; they were softer than a genuine diamond, and lighter than one of the same size: For no stone comes near a diamond in hardness; nor, of the same magnitude, in weight. Diamonds take their estimate from their magnitude, splendour, figure, and water;

for some persons value a diamond of such a water much more than of another; and some are pleased with such a sort of cut, beyond any else. Thus a fair rose diamond of black water and diamond cut was of general esteem with some Europeans at Surat, whilst a white water gained repute with the Dutch, and table-diamonds were with them of best esteem. The Moors exalt the rate of such a diamond, whose surface is cut in very minute figures, much less than what the Europeans affect, though in all things else the diamond was equally good and valuable. For as the use of a diamond, and all other stones, is very inconsiderable, in respect of that high value which the fancy of man and common custom has put upon them; so are their rates too very variable and uncertain, as this instance of a ruby will make out. A ruby, which in perfection is a stone superior to a diamond, made this gradual exaltation of its rates in India. It was sold at first at the rate of 400 rupees, afterwards at 600, then at 800, then at 1,200; from this it rose to 1,600, thence to 2,000, after this it mounted to 2,400, then to 2,800, from which it was sold for 3,000, and lately for 3,200. Thus the fancy of the purchaser advanced it at length seven hundred per cent beyond the original price it was first reckoned at. These perfect rubies are scarce attainable, those of a deep clear colour are rarely seen, which put men upon a hot chase after them when they are heard of, and enhances their value and esteem.

Notwithstanding all these diamonds and immense treasure, of which the Mogul is absolute master, yet is not his mind satisfied, nor his desires abated by his accessions, they rather stretch and swell the more, and push him on to aspire to that real character, which his father assumed, of being King of the World. So little has either increase of wealth, or extent of power, healed his restless faculties, or composed the unruly turbulence of his spirit. However, had Aureng-zebe laid his schemes of victory only towards the Indian princes, and those potent neighbours, from whose conquest he might expect to reap some glory; this methinks would have carried with it a greater air of majesty and grandeur, than that meaner action which is recorded of him in India, of stripping the saquirs of their wealth and jewels.

It seems this prince was minded to compass a little treasure somewhere, and the only method he pitched upon for it, was

to make a booty of the saquirs. These saquirs nearly resemble the Romish mendicants in some things, then character I shall expatiate upon hereafter. The emperor therefore causes proclamation to be made through all the provinces of his Kingdom, *That all saquirs should make ready to repair to a splendid entertainment, which he designed to prepare for them.* The news of this royal banquet was esteemed so honourable an instance of condescension in the emperor to these poor men, that without any further summons or invitation they instantly prepared and flocked from all the remotest parts to come and receive it. When they were come, and had satisfied themselves with the sumptuous feast, and overjoyed at the thoughts of being guests to such a noble banquet, to which they had been called by the person of their emperor, they now address themselves to him with grateful acknowledgments for his bounty in those royal undeserved favours, so far beyond what the meanness and poverty of their condition would suffer them so much as to think of. And whilst wishing him, that glory and success might be the distinguishing characters of his prosperous reign for many years, they humbly craved liberty of departing to their proper dwellings. To which the emperor replied to this effect, *I would not have you think that I have yet forgot the kindness I had for you and your profession, in my former years. It is not the being seated upon the throne of India, that can make me overlook the consideration of your poverty, or the relation I had to you, ever fortune and your good wishes raised me to the glory of my ancestors, and the sovereignty I now enjoy. And therefore as you have thought fit to taste of my banquet, and express your selves pleased with the entertainment, so I expect from you likewise the acceptance of some raiments I have provided for your use, to prevent your return in that ragged dress; and that the world may see after your departure hence, what kindness I had for you, in conferring these more lasting favours upon you.* At this they unanimously voted for their old cloths, as more agreeable to their condition, and that he had sufficiently honoured them by his splendid repast. But the servants, who stood by, immediately unstripped the saquirs, and brought forth fresh garments for their old, in which were found abundance of jewels, gold, and precious stones, enough by far to overpay the expense; as Aureng-zebe by his former acquaintance and ancient intimacy with them could well discover. This

relation which I had from a gentleman at Surat agrees very well with Aureng-zebe's policy; but methinks it suits not well with his honesty and greatness.

The insolence of the Portuguese, as well as rajahs, gives likewise some disturbance to this prince, and has drawn down his arms against their forces, which has driven several of them from the adjacent island to repair for shelter to our island of Bombay. The Mogul's army has made several inroads into their country, plundered some small towns, and threatens Basscen. For the Portuguese governor of that town enticed from a rajah that lived him a very beautiful woman of the Brahmin caste, which was after a while sent for by the rajah, and remanded back again by twenty or thirty soldiers. But the lady's charms blinded his reason, and biassed both his justice and civility, made him refuse to dismiss her, and treat the messengers with such violence, that the Mogul in vindication of the rajah, encouraged his storming of the town.

Other reasons are used for the Mogul's present infesting the country of the Portuguese, and for sending three several parties of men, pillaging, burning and destroying all before them. One is, that the Portuguese burnt formerly a cogee (Kozi) at Goa, who is a person skilled in their law. Another reason is because the Portuguese proselyte the children of all persons deceased among them, whether their parents are Moors or Pagans, and seize their estates into the church; which raises a loud clamour against them, and grievous complaints to the Mogul. Some ascribe the hatred and hostility of the Moors at this time to these two insufferable actions of the Portuguese. Besides all this, the religion of the Portuguese is very offensive to this emperor, who carries such an invincible antipathy to idolatry, and all sort of adoration of images, that he has now suppressed the greatest part of all the Pagodes of his dominions, where his pagan subjects incensed and invoked the idols. Nay, this is such an abomination to the Mahometan belief, that the Moguls allow not the representation of any creature that has life, even upon their tea-cups and china ware, nor admit the figure of any animal upon their atlases or other silks. Therefore the Portuguese religion being grossly tainted with this manner of false worship, has rendered them very detestable to this sort of men, as well as other things have made them odious to the Arabians at Muscat. They that

were formerly the glory and terror of the eastern seas, who flowed with wealth, and all the riches of the Indian and the Persian Gulph, are now as low and declining, as they formerly were powerful and in a splendid state. The Muscatters daily increase their naval forces, and prevail against them incontestably at sea, by fitting out against them ships both of burthen and strength, and manning them with skilful, bold, and adventurous sailors. Only two years since they built in the river of Surat a very comely stout ship of above a thousand tun, (ton), which carried at least an hundred guns.

The Mogul is now past eighty years of age, but yet administers the weighty affairs of his vast kingdom, and retains a vigour in his discerning faculties. Whatever he eats is first tasted by his daughter, and passes under the chops or seals of three or four principal omrahs; and his drink is the water of the river Ganges, which is reputed sacred throughout all his kingdom, and is said to sanctify the natives, whether they drink, or bathe in it. I fancy the native purity of the water may give it this credit and reputation, because they say it has that singular quality of our river Thames, that it never remains corrupt long; and a quart of it is lighter by much than any other water. This water is dearer to him, than if he had drunk Europe wine; for it is brought to him over land in copper jars, tinned within, upon men's shoulders, or upon beasts of burthen, several hundred miles. Thus the ancient kings of Persia drank no other water, than that of the river Eloeus or Chospes, because of the esteem they had of its excellence.

Whenever his health requires physic, he expects the physician should lead the way, take pill for pill, dose for dose, of the same which is administered to him, that he may see the operation upon the body of the physician, before he will venture upon it himself. He never violates his obligations to abstinence, by tasting the juice of the grape, which the omrahs dispense with, and are fond of, and buy it up at any rate, if they can by any private method be accommodated with it in the camp.

He formerly admired the fair sex; but old age, and the decay of nature, keep him at a farther distance at present from his Harem. His women are all closely guarded, not visible to any, but himself and his eunuchs, whose virile parts are cut off

smooth, to prevent the least temptation from the sex; so that whenever there is need, they are forced to the use of a quill in making urine. And all the women of fashion in India are close penned in by their jealous husbands, who forbid them the very sight of all strangers. However the watch is neither so careful, nor their modesty so blameless, but that they sometimes will look abroad for variety, as well as their roving husbands do. A passage of which I shall here insert. A gentlewoman, viciously inclined, contrives one day to get abroad, with a trusty familiar of her acquaintance, though totally a stranger to her new husband. She freely imparts her lewd intentions, earnestly requests her fidelity, and withal desires she would vouchsafe to take the message upon her self, and walk into the bazar, and there spy what comely person she could meet with, proper, lovely, young, and handsome, and conduct him privately to such apartments as she had provided. The friend, thus instructed, goes abroad, views, and culls out from the rest in the bazar the most amiable person she could meet with, and entreating him to step aside, discovers the intrigue, and then conducts him to the place appointed. The gallant it seems was husband

ever unfaithful, or cool in my affection, that might thereby drive you from my embraces, to follow strangers you never heard of? At this rate she turned the argument upon himself, made him the only person guilty of these wanton amours, and with a gargled mouth endeavoured to wipe off all the defilements of her thoughts, and to render her innocence as clear as her excuse. She knew that a conjugal affection is very apt to grow jealous upon any apparent suspicion of mutual fidelity, and that nothing sooner excites and ferments the rage of a man, than the apprehension of a partner in his bed. But yet this jealousy is much extinct among the inhabitants upon the coast of Malabar, where the husbands, even the prime nobility, to complete the welcome of their entertainments, offer the familiarity of their wives; and esteem the rejecting this civility as an affront. Two English merchants some time before I came to India, were invited abroad, and after dinner were tempted with this kind of treat, but the piety of one of them kept him from it, whilst the immodest frolics of the other enticed him on to the use of an unlawful pleasure. And many of their women by their usual custom in these cases, quite contrary to that of other nations, have gained the name of Malabar Quills.

## THE CITY OF SURAT, AND ITS INHABITANTS

THE City of Surat lies in 21 degrees, and some odd minutes of north latitude. It is by Ptolomy called Muziris, and is situated upon a river ten or twelve miles distant from the sea. The name of the river is Tapy, or Tindy, which rises from the mountain of Deccan, and from thence falls down through Brampore, and by Meanders from Surat glides down gently into the ocean. The circumference of it, with the suburbs, is between two and three English miles, tending somewhat in its position to the form of a semicircle or half moon, because of



the winding of the river, to which half of it adjoins. It is fortified with a wall, which is flanked at certain distances with towers and battlements, occasioned by the frequent incursions of the enemies; but its greatest strength is in the castle, which commands not only the ships and boats in the river, but likewise guards the city by land.

The castle is built towards the south-west part of the city having a river to defend it on one side, and a ditch on the other. It is built square, and fortified at each corner with a large tower, containing various lodgings, and furnished with all conveniences fit for accommodating the governor, and has several canons mounted upon the walls.

The entrance into the city is by six or seven gates, where are centinels fixed continually, requiring an account, upon the least suspicion, of all that enter in, or pass out of the city.

The houses are many of them fair and stately, though unproportionable to the wealth of the inhabitants, who are always concerned to conceal their riches, and therefore never exceed in any luxurious furniture, lest it should prove too powerful a temptation to the avarice of the Mogul. They are flat roofed, or rather made a little shelving, after the manner of the buildings in Spain and Portugal, covered with tiles, and the walls are made of brick or stone. The windows are without glass, and kept open for the convenience of the fresh air; and the floors both of the lower and upper stories are all terrassed to make them cool. But the poorer sort, and such as inhabit the skirts of the city, live much meaner, in houses, whose walls are only bamboos at a foot distance, with reeds wove through them; and their covering is only cajan, or palm-leaves of trees, which gives them the common name of cajan-houses.

The streets are some too narrow, but in many places of a convenient breadth; and in an evening, especially near the bazar, or market-place, are more populous than any part of London; and so much thronged, that it is not very easy to pass through the multitude of Bannians and other merchants that expose their goods. For here they stand with their silks and stuffs in their hands, or upon their heads, to invite such as pass by to come and buy them.

In the midst of the city is a spacious vacant place, called castle-green, because of its nearness to the castle, on which are

laid all sorts of goods in the open air, both day and night, excepting the mussoun time. And here the English, French, and Dutch, with the natives, place their hales, and prepare them as loadings for their ships.

The governor of the castle is appointed by the Mogul; and his authority seldom stretches beyond the space of three years, in all which time he is a real prisoner under the appearance of a high commander, and under a severe and strict engagement never to pass without the walls of his castle, but to be continually upon his guard, in a constant readiness for any emergence or surprize, all the time he is in the government.

Surat is reckoned the most famed emporium of the Indian Empire, where all commodities are vendible, though they never were there seen before. The very curiosity of them will engage the expectation of the purchaser to sell them again with some advantage, and will be apt to invite some other by their novelty, as they did him, to venture upon them. And the river is very commodious for the importation of foreign goods, which are brought up to the city in hoys and yachts, and country boats, *with great convenience and expedition.* And not only from Europe, but from China, Persia, Arabia, and other remote parts of India, ships unload abundance of all kinds of goods, for the ornament of the city, as well as enriching of the port.

It is renowned for traffick through all Asia, both for rich silks, such as atlases, cuttanees, soofeys, culgars, allajars, velvets, taffaties, and sattins; and for zarbafts from Persia; and the abundance of pearls that are brought hither from the Persian Gulph; but likewise for diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other stones of splendor and esteem, which are vendible here in great quantities: and for aggats, cornelians, nigganees, desks, scrutores, and boxes neatly polished and embellished, which may be purchased here at very reasonable rates.

The gold of Surat is so very fine, that 12 or 14 per cent may be often gained by bringing it to Europe. And the silver, which is the same all over India, outdoes even the Mexico and Sevil dollars. and has less alloy than any other in the world. I never saw any clipt money there, and it is rare if either the gold or silver coin is falsified. The gold moor, or gold rupee is valued generally at 14 of silver; and the silver rupee at two shillings

three pence. Besides these they have foreign coins, but not in that plenty; and pice, which are made of copper, sixty of which, sometimes two or three more or less, are valued at a rupee. Lower than these, bitter almonds here pass for money, about sixty of which make a pice.

All strange coin, whether imported or exported, pays to the Mogul's officers two and an half per cent and other goods pay more. In some other nations of the east, as in China, they take other measures in their customs, not according to the value or quantity of the goods, but according to the burthen of the ship, which is measured and examined upon her first arrival; and upon this such a custom is charged upon her, without any consideration of her cargo. When this is paid, there is liberty granted of freighting upon the ship what goods men please, those of the richest as well as the meanest value. An English ship there of 400 tuns, paid for its custom 1,000 dollars.

Whatever strange coin comes into the hands of the Mogul's officers, it is melted down, and converted into rupees, which are stamped with the particular characters of the emperor then reigning. After the emperor's death the value of it abates, may be a pice or two in a rupee, because of its antiquity, whereby, they say, so much of its worth is wore off, and only the new coin passes currant without any diminution.

The silks and calicoes vendible here, are either sold by the piece, or by cobits, which is a measure containing 27 inches.

Their rice and corn, and other commodities which are sold with us by concave measures, are with them sold by weight. The common weight is a sear, which weighs  $13\frac{1}{2}$  ounces avoirdupoise; and also the maund, which contains forty sear. Pecks and bushels I never heard of. For as their kingdoms, so are their customs in these kingdoms quite opposite in many things to ours. The teeth of their saws, for instance, are made quite contrary to ours, their locks are fashioned and open quite different ways; and the very dispositions of some irrational creatures vary from the genius they retain with us; as at Tunquin the vigilant dogs watch all night to devour the rats and mice, which are there very large and troublesome; as our cats do with us.

Goods are brought to Surat from Agra, their capital city, from Delhi, Broach, Ahmedabad, and other cities noted for

particular commodities, which are sold off in great quantities to the Europeans, Turks, Arabians, Persians, and Armenians, who above any of the rest travel the farthest, spread themselves in all parts of Asia, as well as Europe, and are as universal merchants as any in the world. The Armenians are civil and industrious, their language is one of the most general in all Asia, and they have spread themselves in vast colonies very far, in Anatolia, Persia, the Holy Land, Egypt, Russia, and Polonia, and range by private persons and families, like Jews into all parts, and like them are as subtle and diligent in their traffick. For they have always had a celebrated name for merchandise; and near them in ancient times, that is, at Phasis in Georgia, was kept the Golden Fleece, which was likely nothing else but a rich and profitable trade of wood, skins, and furs, which the northern people brought thither, and to which they now drive a trade of some resemblance in their costly tapestries, grograins, watered chamlets, &c. And Jason, and the Greeks being the first discoverers of the fleece, above all the rest of Europe, and encountering many hazards and dangers in the first navigation; it was said to be guarded by furies, bulls, and an horrible dragon, that is by men bold and well armed.

For the carriage of their goods, the Indians seldom make use of horses, they are generally employed in the Mogul's service in war; but bring them to Surat in wagons, upon dromedaries, asses, and camels: The strength and hardiness of the camels qualify them extremely for the weight of burthens, and the length of the roads. They dispatch their journeys with some quickness, and have this advantage in making short the way, in that they are observed to have a joint extraordinary in their hind leg, which hastens and assists their motion, by the large reach which it gives them in their walking. They cannot walk upon slippery places, and are therefore best fitted by nature for sandy earth.

At the time that the camels couple, the female takes the burthen in her womb in the same posture she receives the load upon her back, for they both lie down upon their bellies and generate backwards, because the genitals of the male are placed behind. When they are in case for copulation, the keepers are constrained to muzzle them, and keep a severe hand over them,

they are so rampant, furious, and unlucky; and at these seasons the lustful inflamed animal will subsist, they say, forty days together without food. The heat and vigour of their spirits keep them sprightly and alive without any aliment. Some of the camels go with their young above a year.

The Dutch supply Surat with all kinds of spices, saving pepper, in which the English share with them. The cinnamon is brought hither from Ceylon, and is cut off from a tree cloathed with three barks, two whereof are striped off, which are the cinnamon, the third and most inward, which incloses the body of the tree, is never touched, because an incision in it kills the tree. After three years time the two extreme barks are renewed, and cover the body of the tree again, and are fit to be pulled off. If the Dutch are under any apprehension of glutting the trade of Europe with this fragrant spice, and of abating its value by sending home too great an abundance, they lay it on an heap and burn as much of it as they imagine useless for their service, which spicy mountain sends out its fragrant exhalations for many leagues into the sea.

The cloves and nutmegs are conveyed hither from some islands towards Malacca, whither the Dutch send their exiled criminals to perpetual slavery. Upon the outside of the nutmeg is the mace, which is covered again with a very thick coat, like a green walnut; this covering preserved is taken as a high cordial, and eaten as a restorative with pleasure. They relate a passage somewhat strange and surprizing concerning the nature of the nutmeg-tree, that it is never planted, and if it be it never thrives; but such of them as fructify and arrive at perfection, arise from a ripe nutmeg swallowed whole by a certain bird in those islands, which disgorges it again without digesting it, and this falling to the ground with that slimy matter it brought along with it, takes root and grows an useful tree: But this may be a subtle contrived story of the Dutch, to keep men from endeavouring to transplant them.

The cloves grow upon a tree, and before they come to maturity, are of a very delightful colour. Before they are cleansed, they are of such a spongy attractive quality, that they drain any liquids that stand near them, and except the master of the ship, in his conveyance of them from the islands, takes care to

keep them at a convenient distance from his liquors, a quantity of them will in two days time extract and dry up a hogshead of wine or water.

Those that sell the spices are not always very fair and honest in disposing of them. For sometimes they extract a quantity of oil, or essence, or of spirits from the cloves, cinnamon and other spices, and after this, confidently expose them for choice untainted commodities, and raise their rates to that pitch, as if they were fresh, and never robbed of their spirits: Some in Batavia, their capital city in the east, whither the greatest quantity of spice are brought, have large yards filled with them, and kept there on purpose for this design, first to drain them of their essences and purer qualities, and afterwards sell them for sound goods. For which reason we sometimes meet with several sorts of spice that are very dry and insipid, of little smell or taste, pillaged of all their oil and substance.

Besides their governor of the castle of Surat, who is always confined a prisoner within its walls, there is another of the city, to whose management and care is committed the trust of all civil affairs. He receives addresses from the principal merchants and men of note, and all applications of moment from the inhabitants are made to him. He generally keeps at home for dispatching the business of his master, or the people under his care; and if he goes abroad, he sometimes takes the air upon an elephant, seated in a chair of state upon his back; and besides the keeper of the beast, carries along with him a peon, or servant to fan him, and drive away the busy flies and troublesome mosquitoes: This is done with the hair of a horse's tail fastened to the end of a small stick of a foot length, a very homely fan, but yet the only one in esteem with the grandees, and even the emperor himself. To maintain the dignity of his post and station, he maintains several large elephants, and keeps in constant pay and readiness many soldiers, both horse and foot, to guard his person at home and abroad, and to be ready for his dispatches.

He does not peremptorily arbitrate in cases of moment, but when any matter of consequence is brought before him, he seldom determines it without the consultation and concurrence of other officers of the city, the cogy, the vacanavish, and catoual.

The cogy is a person skilled in the municipal laws, acts as judge, and is consulted in matters relating to the civil customs of the empire.

The vacanavish is the Mogul's public intelligencer, and is employed in giving a weekly account from Surat to the court of India, of all occurrences here of truth and moment.

Next to him, and somewhat like him, is another officer called the harrarah, who harkens to all kind of news, whether true or false, listens to everything that happens, whether of moment or of no account, and reports to the great Mogul whatever is done or spoke of; but with so soft a pen, that nothing may offend, considering the profound veneration due to such a powerful prince, whose frowns are mortal.

The catoual is another officer in the city, somewhat resembling a justice of the peace, in endeavouring the suppression of all enormities in the city. For which reason he is obliged to ride the streets for prevention of disorder, thrice in the night, at 9, 12, and 3 o'clock, till 5 in the morning, at which hours the drums beat, and a large long copper trumpet sounds aloud. The catoual is always attended with several peons and soldiers armed with swords, lances, bows and arrows, and some with a very dreadful weapon, a rod of iron about a cubit's length, with a large ball of iron at the end, which is able with ease to dash out the brains, or break and shatter the bones at once. When he meets with a person guilty of petty irregularities, or some trivial offence, he confines him for some time; but if his misdemeanour be more notorious, he must smart for it by a chawbuck, or bastinado.

Though this city is frequented by a conflux of several nations, and peopled by abundance of foreigners as well as natives, whose mixed concourse and mutual conversations might be apt to raise tumults and disputes, yet they very rarely happen, so much as to cause even a slight punishment. And for capital infusions, there are seldom criminals so daring as to merit or incur the guilt of them. The inoffensive conversation of the gentle Indians, who are very apt to receive, but seldom to give an abuse; keeps them innocent, and at a distance from all heinous crimes, and timorous in approaching the commission of any such gross offence, as murder, robbery,

and such like; and for petty failures, a drubbing is a sufficient atonement to public justice.

I believe there has not been a criminal for this 20 years that has suffered a capital punishment at Surat. There were, I confess, some pirates, but all of them Europeans, who were guarded through Surat in their journey to the Mogul, for a trial of their lives, while I stayed there

The power of life and death is the emperor's prerogative, which he hardly vouchsafes to communicate to any civil judge, except they be at a distance, but reserves that authority entirely to himself, of pronouncing the sentence of execution; and if the offender is at a distance, his crime is many times transmitted by a messenger to the Mogul, who determines sometimes without sending for the offender, according to the account of the matter that is sent him.

In controversies and decisions of right, oaths are administered and made use of here, as well as in Christendom. Though the timorous bannian will be apt rather to venture the loss of his cause, than the taking an oath, because of the infamy which swearing obtains among them. As we lay our hands in swearing upon the Holy Bible, so he puts his hand upon the venerable cow, with this imprecation, *That he may eat of the flesh of that blessed animal, if what he says be not true.* For as the Chinese endeavour a perpetuation of their laws, and the preserving their people in obedience, by the dread and awful respect which they harbour towards their dead parents, whom they pretend are inspectors of their children's actions, and highly incensed at their posterity, whenever they transgress, or would contrive an alteration of those laws which they have left them; so does the opinion of the transmigration awe the bannian into a singular respect for all kinds of beasts, especially the cow, which for their lives they would not touch, lest they might thereby eat the flesh of that animal, wherein they hope their father's soul has been.

If any thefts or robberies are committed in the country, the foursdar, another officer, is obliged to answer for them; who is allowed soldiers and servants under him to traverse the country, and look after the highways, to hunt out the robbers, and keep all suspected places quiet and safe for passengers.



Having given this account of the situation and extent of Surat, of its strength and buildings, and of its riches and commerce, (which are the strength of a nation) and likewise of its governor and principal officers: I shall now proceed to a relation of its inhabitants, especially its natives, of their customs and manner of living; of their religion, their festivals and fasts, their marriages and burials, of their language, their learning and recreations

I shall distinguish the natives here into three sorts. First, the Moors, or Moguls Secondly, the bannans or antient gentiles. Thirdly, the Parsies or Gaures And first, to treat briefly of the Moors, who are allowed a precedence to all the rest, because of their religion, which is the same with that of their prince, and for this reason they are advanced to the most eminent stations of honour and trust; and appointed governors of provinces, and are entrusted with the principal military, as well as civil employments. Very few of the gentiles being called to any considerable trust, or encouraged any more, than just to follow their several manual occupations, or merchandize. For religion, which puts a bias upon the mind, entitles them to the court favours, when it carries a conformity to that of their prince Therefore the gentiles are little esteemed of by the Mogul, condemned by the Moors, and often treated with inhumanity and neglect, because of their adhesion to the principles of a religion, which is different from that of the State. And yet their peaceable submissive deportment wins mightily upon the Moors, and takes off much of that scornful antipathy which they harbour against them.

As the Mahometan principles indulge an extraordinary liberty for women, so are they nice in the innocent allowance of wine, and strictly prohibit the *tasting of strong liquor*. The Moors therefore here, as in other kingdoms, practise the use of concubines, according as their fortunes and abilities can reach towards their maintenance; by which means they fancy not only an impunity to themselves, but something of merit, by propagating the number and increase of the faithful.

Yet though they are under a severe restraint from the juice of the grape, they are not debarred the eating of rich and delicate food, nor from dressing it with such store of spice and

high cordial ingredients, as mightily invigorate their spirits, warm their stomachs, and inflame the vital heat. Cloves and ambergrese, cinnamon and other fragrant oriental spices, do often help to compound their dishes of pilau, and other meats that are in use among them, in the families of men of fortune and estates. Some of whom, notwithstanding their Prophet, through whose prohibition they are restrained from wine, will yet privately be as licentious therein, as other persons who are allowed to drink it with moderation. And many of them take the liberty of mixing dutra and water together to drink, without any privacy or fear, which will intoxicate almost to madness, when they are in the humour of gulping it freely; and this sometimes puts them beyond their native tender deportment, and forces them upon sudden bold attempts. It is commonly observed concerning this herb dutra, that whatever humour prevails in any person at the time of his drinking it to excess, that temper continues with him in the highest pitch, till the inebriating quality abates. If he is melancholy, he is then raised to the utmost degree of sadness, If amorous, he is all love and flame; if he is merry, he is then a perfect antic. And pouring cold water upon the legs, removes these excessive humours, and restores them to their senses and sobriety again. The English and other Europeans sometimes in their pleasant frolics, are pleased to divert themselves with these gay humours and strange actions, by taking a cheerful draught or two of this liquor.

When any grievous disaster happens to a man, which he finds himself unable to sustain through disquietness of mind and anguish of spirit, it is very customary upon the coast of Malabar, for such an unfortunate person to make his application to a large dose of this herb for his relief; which chafes and ferments him to such a pitch; that with a catarry or bagonet in his hand he first falls upon those that are near him, whether parents, wife or child, killing and stabbing as he goes; and then in the same mad frenzy runs along the streets and highways, and blindly executes the same fate upon all he meets with, till at length by some martial hand he falls himself, and ends his life in that bitter fit. These that run thus are called amouki, and the doing of it running a muck. And for this reason, to

prevent all misdemeanours of persons heated with arak, or any strong liquor, does the King of Siam forbid any one to enter into his palace; and all that do, or are suspected, must allow the porter to smell their breath before they pass the gates. Those that pretend to the understanding of the derivation of this word arak, deduce it from the Arabic, wherein they say it signifies sweat, and metaphorically essence, and by way of excellence *Aqua Vitæ*. Of this sort of liquor there are two kinds most famed in India, the Goa and Bengal Arak, besides that which is made at Batavia. Bengal is a much stronger spirit than that of Goa, though both are made use of by the Europeans in making punch, and are bought at both places at very low rates. Arak is distilled from rice, and sometimes from toddy the juice of a tree, and is prescribed in healing the griping of the gutts. Stronger than this is another compound liquor made in India, which is distilled from black sugar mixed with water, with the bark of the tree babool, this is called jagre arak; it is as hot as brandy, and is drunk in drams by the Europeans.

But the coco and the palm tree afford a pleasant juice from their head and upper branches, which the Moors as well as Europeans drink of plentifully. A quart of it may be got for a pice or two, and is so strong that it turns the brain as soon as English beer; for want of which the sailors take up with this juice to refresh themselves, when the ships anchor near the shore; for no malt drink is made in India. It distils from the tree into earthen jars, which are fixed to the branches of the coco tree, when they are cut off to a foot length; and are put to the hole in the palm tree, which by incision is made one inch deep, and three wide; and in one night's time a jar containing above a quart will be filled with the juice of one tree. When it distils into a jar that has been formerly used, it suddenly taints and grows harsh, and turns sour in less than the space of 24 hours. In the morning it is laxative, and costive in the evening. The name of this liquor is toddy; but the neri which is drawn from the arequier tree in a fresh earthen vessel, is as sweet and pleasant as milk, but more lively, without any mixture of a hard or sharp taste. Several Europeans pay their lives for their immoderate draughts, and too frankly carousing these cheerful

liquors, with which when once they are inflamed, it renders them so restless and unruly, especially with the additional heat of the weather, that they fancy no place can prove too cool, and so throw themselves upon the ground where they sleep all night in the open fields, and this commonly produces a flux, of which a multitude in India die. The securest way here for preserving health after an excess in drinking, and an intemperate draught of any strong liquor, is to keep close after it under some convenient covering, and to digest it by keeping warm, and sleeping out the fermentation.

The Moguls feed freely on beef or mutton, or the flesh of any other creature which is not accounted unclean among them, but swine's flesh is under a disrepute, and held among them an abomination. Yet the grandees will taste of this, as well as wine, and will not stick at the eating it at a private collation. For an English agent, by a frequent interview with the governor of a city, arrived at length to that familiarity with him, that he took the liberty of inviting him and some intimates more, to a friendly entertainment of Persian and European wines. The governor coming to it, was so charmed with the welcome which he received, because the wine had that influence on his humour and palate that upon his departure he stepped to the agent and told him, he designed him suddenly another visit, and withal desired from him a couple of young kids of the agent's preparing, and whispering to him privately, he told him he meant young pigs. The agent expressed his humble sense of the honour they had vouchsafed him, and his satisfaction at the freedom they had taken; and withal assured them, that such an evening the kids should be provided for their coming. He instantly sent abroad his servant, for procuring him two of the fattest pigs that could be met with, and ordered them to be roasted against the time appointed, and pulling off their skin, and cutting off their heads and feet, had them brought before the invited guests. They rejoiced at the sight of them, and when they had tasted, applauded the delicacy of the meat, eat it with abundance of delight, and boasted that they had never seen any such plump kids, whose relish outdid any thing they had ever tasted; and heartily wished for the opportunity of such another repast, and the liberty of banqueting frequently upon such dainties. They ad-

mired the Christians indulgence in such noble liquor, and such exquisite fare, and believed that the unconfined luxury in eating was equal to the pleasure of their desirable variety of women; and that the carnal excesses approved by Mahomet do not outvie the unconstrained liberty which the Christians take in sumptuous repasts, and such kind of luxurious sensuality.

The Moors are only bound to abstain from unclean beasts, and load their tables with fish and fowl, and other fare. And it is only among them that the butchers kill the meat, and sell it to strangers; for the Indians will scarce look upon a mangled carcass. A butcher with them is little less than a muderer, but of all vocations that is the most odious with them.

The Moors with a very rigid and avowed abstinence, observe every year one month, a fast, which they term the Ramezan; during which time they are so severely abstemious, that they stretch not their hands to either bread or water, till the sun be set, and the stars appear; no, not the youths of 12 or 13 years of age. Which makes the penance so much the more rigorous and troublesome, in that a draught of water in those warm parching climates is so very necessary, and so refreshing to such as are ready to faint with thirst. This fast is not kept always at the same season of the year, but begins its date annually more early by eleven days. When I was at Surat, this mortifying custom was about the month of September, at which time the Moors would begin to refresh themselves about the close of the evening, and eat then freely; and by an early collation in the morning, before the dawning of the light, prepare themselves for the drought and heat of the following day. The Almighty, they told us, required from Mahomet, that his followers should be obliged to this austerity, the whole circuit of the year; but that the Holy Prophet, in compassion to the faithful, obtained from God the confinement of it only to a month, which would therefore highly aggravate their crime, if they neglected the dedication of so small a portion of the year to this religious abstinence, though the observance of it had been enjoined after a more rigorous manner than it is. And to add to the sanctity of this celebrated and solemn fast, their Mullahs, acted with a sacred zeal, and lively concern for the souls of the people, will at this time spend whole nights in the

musseets, in chanting aloud alternately their divine hymns, till the approach of day breaks up their devotions. And so they complete their fast, according to the strictest rules of the most rigid ascetics, by mixing prayers and watchings with the abstinence; in which, as well as in their public prayers and religious worship, they tie themselves up to a very nice and devout strictness, and behave themselves with all those decencies of respect, with that astonishing reverence in the musseets, as not to defile them with either their eyes or lips; not daring so much as to turn their heads to gaze about, or utter the least word to one another. Which profound respect casts an obloquy and deserved reproach upon some professors of a much purer religion, and more Holy Faith, whose careless deportment and familiar address discountenance all the religious decorum of prayers, and might tempt those heathens to conclude, that our devotions were rather some light diversion, than the effects of serious and sacred thoughts.

The Moguls are very profuse in their funeral expenses; as well at the time of their friend's decease, as at several others within the compass of a month, when they think themselves engaged at their public invitations to lavish away immoderate cost to their friend's memory, enough almost to sink a rich fortune. Besides the solemn yearly celebration of an expensive feast for all the friends and relatives, in honour of the departed; that they may revive the kindness they entertained for the virtues and affection of him they lament, and that they may keep up the idea of his person and endowments. At this time too the tomb is decked with lamps, and beset with bright illuminations, as emblems of his shining excellencies and perfections.

The dead corpse is carried after our manner on a bier upon men's shoulders, decently dressed and beautified with flowers, and attended with the company of friends and relations to the place of burial. The grave is arched underground so high, that a man may sit under its roof; to this intent, that when the angel at the Day of Judgment shall come and ask them, Whether they are Mussulmen? They may sit up in their graves, and answer, Yea. Some of them are reported to be skilled in preserving a corpse from putrefaction a considerable time, only with the repetition of some few words, and without the art or expense of Egyptian embalming, to keep it from corruption, only with a verbal charm.

And as their minds are wrought into an aversion against ours, by the contrariety of their faith, when they were alive; so they would seem to continue that antipathy even beyond the stroke of death, to the very confinement of the grave, by placing their corpse in a quite contrary position to ours, which are laid from east to west, as theirs are athwart from north to south.

The language of the Moors is different from that of the ancient original inhabitants of India, but is obliged to these gentiles for its characters. For though the Moors dialect is peculiar to themselves, yet is it destitute of letters to express it; and therefore in all their writings in their mother tongue, they borrow their letters from the heathens, or from the Persians, or other nations. The court language is Persian, which obtains with all the honourable omrahs, and with all persons of ingenuity and polite conversation through the empire, which creates an ambition of dressing their speech as well as writing in that favourite style. For foreign languages in Asia, as well as Europe, invade the use of the mother tongue with princes, and their ministers of state, as here the Persian prevails, in Persia the Ottoman language; and at the august port the Arabian tongue.

It is observable that the introduction of a language concurs towards completing the conquest of a nation; which yet the Moguls have not been able to effect in India, neither totally to reduce the old natives to a cheerful undisturbed compliance with the government: But a potent raja is tempted to raise new factions now and then to disturb the affairs of the Mogul, and give diversion to his army. And zealous of the tradition of their ancestors, maintain not only their own tongue, but as much as possible their ancient customs and opinions, and start new objections against their present state, the better to assert their primitive liberty again; and the ancient possession of those kingdoms, which their progenitors for so many ages by immemorial custom had formerly retained.

Indeed the Bramins, who are derived from Bramon, who (they say) was one of the first men that inhabited the world, have a language used among them, but very difficult to be attained, which several of themselves therefore understand not. It is the learned language among them, called the Sanskrit, and

is the same with them as Latin is with us. In this the records of their nation, the mysteries of their theology, the books of their religion and philosophy, and the fables of their priests, are writ; wherein are several weak and loose opinions, discovering their ignorance both of the duration of this world, and the state and condition of the next. I wanted that opportunity I wished for, of enquiring more particularly into the several mysteries of their religion. Besides, few of the learned Bramins live near Surat.

The paper-books, in vulgar use among the inhabitants of India, are long schrowls of paper, sometimes ten foot in length, and a foot broad, sowed together at the upper end, as many long sheets as the occasion of the writing requires. The pen they write with is the ancient calamus, or reed, about the thickness of a large goose quill. And some of their standishes are made long and square, and above an inch broad, and of sufficient length to contain both pens, and a place for ink.

Their manner of writing is neither directly forwards nor backwards, nor in a straight line downwards. like the Chinese from the upper to the lower part of the paper; but it is a medium between both. from the uppermost corner of the left to the lowermost corner of the right, slanting gradually downwards, especially when they write any notes or epistles to one another.

Their paper by its slickness and smoothness appears shining, which is of ordinary use, but that which they write upon, either to the emperor, or persons of consequence, is gilt all on the surface, as ours is only on the edges, with some small flowers interspersed here and there for ornament.

For the security of letters sent abroad to the principal ministers or the emperor, they are enclosed in a large hollow bamboo of a foot length, at one end of which is a head or cover two inches long, which after the letter is put in, is joined close to the bamboo, and upon that joining the seal is fixed, to prevent taking out the letter without breaking the seal. This preserveth the letter neat and clean, unsullied by rain or dust, or being carried from hand to hand; so that let the journey be never so tedious, this respect always accompanies the letter to him it was sent to, that in opening of it he finds it as neat and fair as it was when



it was first sealed up. The covers of paper which are put upon our letters in Europe, bear some resemblance to the civility of the Indian bamboo.

Upon their chops, as they call them in India, or seals engraven, are only characters, generally those of their name, upon gold, or silver, or Cornelian stones. Coats of arms in India are not heard of; for no man is hereditary there, either to estate or honours, those all depend upon the breath and pleasure of the Mogul, who is the sole fountain of honour and riches, who blasts the fortune of his subjects, or raises them by his favour, as he thinks fit. There every man's title and estate are as mortal as himself, die with him, and return to the disposal of the sovereign.

The Indians in sending their letters abroad have not learnt the convenience of the quick dispatches of our posts: A pattamar, i.e. a foot messenger, is generally employed to carry them to the remotest bounds of the empire. So that whenever the English are under a necessity of writing to Bengal, Madras, or any other part of Indostan, a person is sent on purpose upon the errand.

Neither have they endeavoured to transcribe our art of printing; that would diminish the repute and livelihood of their scrivans, who maintain numerous families by the pen. But they can imitate a little the English manner of binding books.

They have not many learned among them, to remove any defects that might be found in their common style, or to improve their language, so venerable for antiquity, and preservation of its self for so many ages without any known alteration. It is otherwise in Europe, where foreign words are naturalized for embellishing the elegance of speech, which has been more particularly designed in Germany; and for completing which the emperor founded the Swan-Society, as censors of the language, to correct and refine, to alter and amend whatever they found unpolished or amiss. But Dr. Kempfire, an ingenious traveller, and German physician, who told me this, told me likewise, that they exterminate all exotic words, however proper or specific, by a confinement to those of their mother tongue, though loaded with circumlocutions. The method, methinks, cannot so much refine, as debase the speech; which being an instrument

upon their draught oxen, but delight to see their horns set off with brass or silver made hollow, of three or four inches length, fixed to the tip of them, with a long chain of silver reaching from the end of each horn to the middle of the head, and there fastened.

The hackeries are made of a square figure, as our coaches, but the seat is flat, not raised with cushions to lean upon. They can carry three or four persons, and are all open on the sides, but supported at each corner, and in the middle by pillasters. Some of better fashion are hung round, with an imperial over head to fence off the scorching rays of the sun, and with a carpet spread under to sit upon.

Those whose wealth is able to support it, are pompously carried upon men's shoulders in palanquins, whose carriage is as easy and pleasant as that of our chairs in the streets of London, but far surpasses them in point of state and quick dispatches of a journey. Four or six servants support the palanquins, with others that attend and relieve them by turns, who will with ease carry it twenty or thirty miles a day. It hangs like a cradle upon a bamboo five or six inches in diameter, and near four and twenty foot long; arched in the middle for the convenience of him that sits in it, and sustaining the hangings with which it is covered; but it is streight above five foot at each end, where the servants carry it upon their shoulders. Ballisters of four or five inches thickness support it; the sides of it are curiously wrought, and richly plated with gold or silver; the covering is made of fine silk; the cushions within are generally of rich zarbaft, with the choicest carpets spread under them. Here the great men stretch themselves at ease, as it were upon a couch, and hereby they avoid that heat and ruffling of their spirits, which either the motions of a horse or a hackery might cause, and which in these kingdoms is so very troublesome. The ancient Romans used something like a palanquin, as Juvenal in his first Satyr, tells us,

*Causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis*  
*Plena ipso.*

When they take the air, either in palanquins or otherwise, they usually frequent the coolest groves, and the pleasant gardens adjacent to the city, refreshed either by the river Tappy, or by water conveyed into their tanques, or ponds. And here the dancing wenches, or quenchenies, entertain you, if you please, with their sprightly motions, and soft charming aspects, with such amorous glances, and so taking irresistible a mien, that as they cannot but gain an admiration from all, so they frequently captivate a zealous rich spectator, and make their fortunes and booty of the enchanted admirer.

—ut *Gaditana canoro*

*Incipiat prurire choro, plaususq; probatae*

*Ad terram tremulo descendant clune puellae*

One of the principal persons about Surat, was thus surprized and ensnared while I was there, and lost both himself, his fortune, and his friends, in their eager admiration. For they are educated in the improvement of all, that is gay and entertaining, they set themselves off with such advantage, by a rhetorical look and taking air, wherein they show an unparalleled masterpiece of art, that a grave European will scarce adventure himself in the sight of their insinuating temptations, and charming deportment.

Among the men, whose employment it is to divert spectators with amazing shows and sights, some, they say, will take in their hands a clew of thread, and throw it upwards, in the air till it all unravels, and then climbing up themselves by this tender thread to the top of it, presently fall down piecemeal upon the ground; and when all is dropped, unite again the parted members. Others are said to raise a mango tree, with ripe fruit upon its branches, in the space of one or two hours. To confirm which relation, it was affirmed confidently to me, that a gentleman who had plucked one of these mangoes, fell sick upon it, and was never well as long as he kept it, till he consulted a bramin for his health, who prescribed his only remedy would be the restoring of the mangoe, by which he was restored to his health again.

Dancing snakes kept tame in baskets are everywhere common; their keepers use them as familiarly as we do puppies, take them in their hands, and sometimes force them to bite their flesh without any consequent harm. He that carries them about, plays upon a pipe when he exposes them, at the noise of which the snake will hiss, spread his head and throw it about.

We had brought into our factory once a tame snake, of that bigness and length, that one of the fowls of the largest size was swallowed whole by it, with all the feathers on, in my sight; it first began with the head of the fowl, and then twisting its body about the body of the fowl, squeezed it close, to facilitate the passage. The fowl screeched once at the first seizing, and afterwards lay dead: The snake struggled sometime with the bulky part of the body before it could get it down; but as soon as it was once swallowed, it found a speedy passage to the middle of the snake, which lay there stretched and swelled, till the natural heat, in less than 24 hours, had digested both the bones and feathers. This was an extraordinary morsel, and far surpassing that ordinary food upon which the snakes do commonly feed. But there is much more danger than diversion from these serpents in India, where they are so numerous, that the unwary traveller is often exposed to the fatal effects of their sudden venom. For a peon of mine, named, Gemal, walking abroad in the grass after the rains, was unfortunately bit on a sudden by one of them. The latent snake twisted unawares about his leg, and in a short time brought him to the ground, by causing in him an immediate deliquium of spirit, almost even to expiration. The servants who were standing by, amazed at the accident, called immediately upon an English merchant, who hastened towards him with a special medicine for his recovery. The thing which he carried about him, and which instantly applied, is a specific against the poison of snakes, cured him, and therefore obtains the name of snake-stone. It is a small artificial stone, almost flat, only with a little protuberance in the middle, and of a gray colour. The composition of it is ashes of burnt roots, mixed with a kind of earth, which is found at Diu, belonging to the Portuguese; and those are burnt together again, out of which paste the stones are

formed. They are not all alike coloured, but those that have received more of the fire, are thereby inclined to a lighter gray, the others are a little more dark. This stone cures by the application of it to the part envenomed, to which it immediately sticks fast, and by its powerful attraction sucks back the infused venom, till its pores are full. Then like a glutted horse-leech it falls off, and disgorges the replenisht pores in milk (the properest liquor for this purpose) which by discolouring, it renders livid. Upon this it recovers new strength, and its alexipharmic quality again, and is speedily prepared for a fresh draught of poison, if any remains in the affected part, till it quite extracts whatever the venomous serpent had immitted; which makes those counter-poisons in great esteem against all external attacks upon the body; as the cordial antidotes are most valuable for expelling or subduing any poison inwardly received. The double excellence of this stone recommends its worth very highly, in that a little of it scraped off, and mixed with wine, or some other proper vehicle, and inwardly taken, is reputed one of the most powerful medicines against any malignant fevers or infectious diseases, that is known, and much excels the deservedly famed Gasper Antoni, or Goa Stone. The trial of these stones is made by fixing them to the roof of the mouth, to which if they stick fast, it is a sign they are genuine, if they easily fall off, fictitious. Another method for knowing the true stones from the counterfeit, is to immerse them in a glass of water, where, after a while, if some light ebullitions rise from them, and ascend through the body of the water, this likewise is an approved sign that the stone is not spurious. The Europeans, for the security of themselves against the danger of these serpents, which are everywhere so common in India, carry always about them one of these stones enclosed in a heart of gold, fixed to a golden chain, which hangs about their necks

A burning coal is boasted to be able to effect the same cure, as the Snake-Stone does; and to heal the venom of serpents, or stinging of scorpions, by gradually drawing out all the poison, when it is applied very near the wound, which is not easily vexed or incommoded by the fire, by reason that the acuteness of the venom abates the sensibleness of the heat of the fire, and keeps it off.

As the kingdom of Indostan is very much annoyed by the multitude of these venomous creatures, which lurk in all coverts and secret places, so is it stocked with medicines extraordinary against their harm. The wise designation of heaven providing all things for the convenience, as well as necessity, both of nations and particular creatures, by suiting remedies peculiar to each one's exigence, and appropriating agreeable circumstances to the particular natures of all. Therefore as inward poisons prevail in these parts, as well as outward; so do medicines likewise, which are available for abating and expelling both of them. For besides several poisonous herbs which grow in India, the old natives of Bengal affirm, that if sugar be kept for thirty years, it is as dangerous, as quick, and effectual poison as any. One of the antidotes, above all the rest, is the celebrated Maldivian coconut, of which this encomium is given by Piso, in his *Mantissa Aromatica*, at the latter end of *Bontius*, *Vera cum Gloria predicare non dubito, Antistitem Alexipharmacorum Coccum nostrum esse, experimentis indubitatis non fallacem*. That is, he can truly boast by many infallible experiments, that there is no alexipharmic goes beyond the Maldivian coconut. He prescribes four scruples, or from half a drachm to a whole, to be taken in proper liquor, which he affirms prevails miraculously to the cure not only of internal poisons, but mightily helps forward women in labour, as he would prove by an induction of many particulars. It cures the bloody flux, the pestilence, and malignant fevers, poisons, falling sickness, palsey, convulsions, and frightful tremors of the spirits: So great are its virtues, that the use of it, as he elsewhere tells us, is consecrated by a certain privilege of nature to the support of life, p. 207. Which made Rudolphus, a certain Roman Emperor, understanding its excellency, purchase it at the price of four thousand florens.

The name of this nut with the Maldives is Tavarcare; and though it has appropriated the name of Maldivian, yet is it found in other parts of India besides, though probably the first, or most of them, are met with there. It is conjectured to be the same with the land coconut, and that when the ocean invading the mainland of Asia, made a breach of the Maldives from it, these nuts were covered under the water, which now and then are taken up in it floating, or washed upon the shore.

The Indians are very fond of it, and strongly maintain its medicinal virtues against poison, in confirmation whereof, an old English master of a grab, or small vessel, *George Teach*, has frequently repeated this story to me, 'That in his voyage to Patta, which lies near the Red Sea, upon the coast of Africa, in the time of the sale of his cargo there, the king's son of the place was poisoned to that degree, that his skin was bloated and swollen upon him like a bladder. He presently betakes himself for a remedy to the Maldivé coconut, several of which are found there. Thus he rubbed upon a hollow stone, containing five or six spoonfuls of water, till the water was well tinctured by it, and in the same manner rubbed a piece of a rhinoceros horn, and then drank the water off. And repeating this medicine for three or four days, the humours sensibly assuaged, and in that time were all drawn off by so powerful a purgation, that though it had racked and examined every part of his body, yet he recovered in that short space of time; the swelling abated, and his skin fell, and hung loose about him like a garment.'<sup>3</sup> I brought one of these coconuts with me from Surat, which was graciously accepted of by the late queen, of glorious and immortal memory.

They ascribe very much likewise to the rhinoceros horn in India, as it is an antidote against all poisonous draughts, and hugely extol in it that medicinal excellence and singular quality. The character of this horn prevailed so far with a former president of ours at Surat, that he exchanged for a cup made of this horn a large capacious silver bowl of the same bigness.

The heat of the country about Surat, will scarce permit that eager prosecution of sports or recreations, which a cooler climate does encourage; but a game at chess in their houses, or in the shades of the streets, will invite them to spend some hours at it: I did not hear of their expenses otherwise, I mean of their goods or money. For they seldom are heated into passion, or ruinous adventures, by the polemic traverses of that intricate puzzling game. Their frolics reach not to that pitch of folly, as to exchange their pastimes into punishments, or to make them hazard the loss of their comfortable subsistence for ever, for diverting themselves for some hours or minutes. And to me it seems more rational, the penalty of the Japanners upon

gaming, who have decreed it a capital crime to play for money; than the liberty taken by the Siamese, in playing away not only their estates, but families, and sometimes themselves too. How many fair estates have been squandered away in one night's time, by the votaries of fortune, who have both ruined themselves and their families, by the effects of this vanity, and the bewitching love of gaming? And by running their estates upon unhappy destinies, by a cross turn of fortune, or an unlucky chance, have made themselves suppliants for part of those possessions, of which they were entire masters before.

The variety of wild beasts afford the stouter Indians abundance of other game, and divert them with more manly pastimes. Insomuch that in some of our English factories, particularly Carwar upon the coast of Malabar, deer, antilopes, peacocks, wild bulls and cows, are almost the daily furniture of their table, brought home by the pcons, without any further expense than that of powder and shot. Surat abounds not with that plenty; however, hares and peacocks, deer and antilopes, are sold here at easy rates; though provisions are not quite so cheap as at Bengal, where forty fowls, or fifteen ducks, may be bought for a rupee.

A considerable value is set upon any of our European dogs, either spaniels, greyhounds, or mastiffs. A water-spaniel, in the river of Tappy after a duck, will call forth the whole city to the pastime; and it is with them upon this score so very amazing and delightful, because they have none of that breed among them; nor indeed any other, that I ever saw, but currs; into which our fiercest and most lively dogs degenerate, after a litter or two, by the constant unallayed heat of the country. The greyhounds and hounds are likewise equally valuable and divertive, and live for some time, if they run them not in the heat of the day; but if they chauce to hunt with them about noon, the ambient air mixing with the natural, when it is fermented and chafed, commonly proves too strong for their constitutions; so that they frequently expire upon the spot, and rarely live out any number of years or months.

A couple of Irish wolf-dogs were so prized in Persia, that they were taken as a welcome and admired present by the emperor himself. Two more of which (which were given to me



by the Earl of Inchequin, when we put into kingsale, after the voyage) I disposed of to the East-India Company, who dispatched them in their ships immediately to the Indies, to be there bestowed in some of the eastern courts.

A large English mastiff, given by a merchant, was looked upon as such a rarity and favour by a noble omrah, that he engaged himself and six hundred of his followers, in a hot dispute concerning his property in the dog, with another as potent a grandee who claimed a right in him. For the decision of this controversy, they each led forth a like number of men, to determine their right by a bloody contest. Till one, a little wiser and more cool than the other two, entreated their respite, and bespoke their audience, and told them the case might be easily remitted to the English president, who was able to give a just determination in it. This by their joint consent and application kindly prevented the designed quarrel, and the English president arbitrated fairly in justice to him to whom the dog was given.

And because the Moors have invented peculiar arts and methods in their recreations, from what obtain among us; I shall instance in some of their diversions, which will not be ungrateful to the reader, especially if he be a man of sports.

In hunting their antilopes and deer, as they are destitute of dogs, so they endeavour to supply their want by tame leopards, trained and brought up for that purpose, which warily leap upon the prey, and having once caught it, hold it fast.

In Persia, in the room of dogs and leopards, they bring up falcons to hunt their antilopes and bucks, which are brought to India from thence, and are trained to it after this manner. Whenever the hawk they breed up to it is hungry, they fix its meat upon the nose of a counterfeit antelope, and from thence only feed it, without allowing it any meat but what it eats there. After this they carry one or two of these falcons into the fields, and flying one of them at an antelope, it fastens just upon his nose, which so blinds and stops the antelope by the force and fluttering of its wings, that he can neither well espy his way, nor find his feet as nimbly as he would; and this gives a very easy admittance to the men or dogs to come in and catch him. If this hawk is beaten off, which is sometimes done with

much ado, another aloft stoops and lights upon the same place, and strikes him backwards with his talons, till at length he is made a prey: For one of the hawks always mounts as the other stoops.

Sometimes a great company of men range the fields, and walk together into the enclosures, to look after their game; when once they have espyed the place where they fancy the game lies, they enclose the ground, and stand in a ring, with clubs or weapons in their hands, whilst they employ others to beat up the ground, and raise it for them.

Nor are they destitute of ingenious inventions, when they recreate themselves with fowling, any less than they are in their hunting sports. For in the room of our stalking horses, they make use of stalking oxen, which are managed and bred up to the purpose, even to admiration. I have seen a Moor Indian shoot at once five or six ducks under one of their bellies, without the least starting, or surprisal to the ox; and the quiet temper of this laborious animal renders it, I believe, as easily brought up to it, and as proper for this game as any horse. Some of the Indians maintain themselves very well by this art.

But they use another ingenious method for catching wild fowl, which is very pretty. The fowler when he is in quest of his game, espying at length his sport at a distance, prepares a man to go before him toward the place where he sees his game, and carry in his hand the boughs of trees, so artificially wrought and joined together, that they perfectly resemble a small bush or hedge, which is a shelter both to the fowler and him that carries it. By this contrivance, the fowler passes altogether undiscovered towards his sport, and gains the convenience not only of shooting at what distance he pleases, but sometimes approaches his game so near, that he takes it almost in his hand. If the wild fowl be at a distance upon the water, he then contrives another method for coming near them, and surprizing them with his hands. He takes a pitcher of earthen jar, so large that he fits it to his head, which he covers all over, and decks it with the feathers of what water-fowl he thinks convenient; and making holes in it for him to breathe and look through, he then fastens it upon his head, and being expert in swim-

ming, ventures into the pond where he sees the fowl, and moves towards them, without anything visible but the pitcher above the water, when he comes near them where they swim about, he catches them one by one by their legs, and silently pulls them under water, and there fastens them to his girdle. They all this while fancy the moving feathered jar a living fowl, and those that were plucked under the water to have been diving, till sometimes the fowler catches the whole flock.

Next to the Moors the Bannians are the most noted inhabitants at Surat, who are merchants all by profession, and very numerous in all parts of India. They are most innocent and obsequious, humble and patient to a miracle; sometimes they are heated into harsh expressions to one another, which is seldom; and this tongue-tempest is termed there a Bannian fight, for it never rises to blows or bloodshed. The very killing of a fly with them, is a crime almost inexpiable. They cannot so much as endure hot words, as they call them, from the Europeans; but if they see them exasperated, and in a rage, retreat for a day or two, till they give them time to cool; and when they find the passion assuaged, form their addresses in the most affable manner, and obliging respect.

The orientals are generally much more tender and insinuating in their language, and more prompt and easy in their deportment, than those that are bred in the tempestuous regions, and northerly air of Europe, which has a certain influence upon their spirits, to render them boisterous and irregular, in respect of that submissive temper and affable carriage of the eastern nations. He that has conversed for any time among these, can hardly bear the roughness, or be brought to digest the rudeness of the others. For the sudden changes, and uncertainty of the weather in all seasons of the year, affect both the heads and hearts of such as are conversant in these uneven climates; it makes them suddenly heated into passions, and as hardly brought to any warmth of affection; it makes them both unlike other nations, and inconsistent with themselves, by raising unequal humours, and unconstancy in the passions, unfixed desires, and uncertain ends. And were the Bannians to be transported hither, who hold a transmigration, they would be apt immediately upon their arrival to conclude,

that many of the men had really invaded the natures of some of the most savage brutes, were animated with no other souls than those of tigers and bears; and that the Irish and French opinion of the lougharoes, or men turned into wolves, was as true and authentic a notion, as any that prevailed among them.

But that opinion of the Bannians, which possesses them with an horror of blood, does quite discourage them from all hostile attacks and thoughts of war; and their despotic government breaks their spirits, and the feeble phlegmatic ailments, with the consumptive heat of the sun, all contribute to weaken and effeminate their constitutions, to the producing a tractable disposition, and smooth regular deportment.

They are mainly addicted to prosecute their temporal interest, and the amassing of treasure; and therefore will fly at the securing of a pice, though they can command whole lakhs of rupees. I know those among them computed to be worth an hundred thousand pounds, whose service the prospect of sixpence advantage will command to traverse the whole city of Surat. For they are always upon the thoughts of increasing their wealth, and plodding for gain, which they lay hold on upon the least occasion, though by never so minute and inconsiderable advantages. By which diligence they generally secure a comfortable subsistence; and some of them amass a prodigious treasure.

The Bannians are by much the most numerous, and by far the wealthiest of all the pagans of India, whose distinction in religion argues a difference of their various vocations; and each single trade is diversified by some particular opinions; the goldsmith, and scrivener, the joiner, barber, and merchant, &c. as they have different employments, so are they of diverse sentiments, and distinguished in the ceremonies of their worship; and mix no more in their sacred sentiments of religion, than in their civil arts. Therefore all their arts are hereditary, and their employments confined to their families. The son is engaged in the father's trade, and to maintain the profession of it in his posterity, it is transmitted always to the succeeding generation, which is obliged to preserve it in a lineal descent, uncommunicated to any stranger. Upon this

from eating together in common. They all maintain a transmigration of souls, and abstinence from the food of any living creature, according to the doctrine of Pythagoras, who is presumed by some learned men to have borrowed his opinion from them. This Philostratus relates of Jarchas, a principal of the Bramins, how he told Apollonius Tyanaeus, that he himself had formerly been Ganges, Apollonius had been an Egyptian mariner, and an attendant that waited upon them had been Palamedes, and in new bodies had represented themselves to the world. Which opinion spread itself as far formerly as our nation, among the Druids, who for this reason taught and prescribed an abstinence from flesh. They fancy that every man, according to his demerits in his lifetime, shall animate a noble, or more infamous animal after death. And him they pronounce completely happy, whose soul, after its departure out of the body, can fortunately escape into that of a cow, and inform the body of that blessed creature, which above all the rest of the animal generations, is of singular esteem and greatest respect, even almost to adoration. A solemn address is paid to this creature every morning; and he that is destitute of one at home, makes his visit to that of his neighbours. They admire it for the excellence of its nature, for which it is conspicuous in those extraordinary benefits which mankind receive from it in the support of their lives; and for the convenience of it after death, in conducting them over a broad deep river, which they are engaged to pass, which would be impassable, were it not for the cow's tail, which the Bramins tell them, they are to take hold of in getting over.

Besides these, there are other reasons for the profound respect they have for the cows; for they believe, with the Mahometans, that the foundations of the earth are supported on the horns of these creatures; and that the cow's extraordinary fast motion causes earthquakes. They tell us likewise, that Mahaden, being greatly provoked by the crimes of the people, and resolving upon it to destroy the world, he was appeased by a cow, who reconciled him, and saved the earth from utter ruin. Therefore did the former kings of Malabar, whenever they created a nairo or knight, after their embracing him, enjoined his kindness to those two especially, the Bramins and the kine.

And whatever opinion some present philosophers have of brutes, who deny them not only the use of reason, which others have ascribed to them, but likewise that of sense, by degrading of them into mere machines; the ancients had better thoughts of them; and the Egyptians and Persians, as well as Indians, had them in universal esteem. The Egyptians formed their images of their gods in the similitude of beasts, or birds, or fishes; as that of an ox, a crocodile, or other creature, to affright the vulgar by these sacred symbols from hurting the dumb animals; and that struck with a sacred reverence, they might abstain from the death of any living creature. And thus the disciples of the Persian Magi received an alteration of their names into those of beasts, or birds; and were called lions, panthers, hawks, or something else, to form in them a liking to those creatures; and by resembling them in the various figures with which their garments were painted, to bring them to entertain a certain friendship and affection to them; thereby insinuating this Indian persuasion of the transmigration of souls, and that the spirit of man is liable successively to animate all kinds of bodies.

The Bannians are of so firm a belief in this matter, and so far gone in this assertion, that if either bird or beast be seen to frequent their habitation, it must consequently be the spirit of some lately departed friend. Moradash a Bannian, and scrivener or secretary to the English brokers, was some few years past sorely afflicted for the death of his father, and in deep melancholy sighs had long bewailed his misery and loss. Till at length a large snake appearing in the house some time after, where his father died, became a refuge to his sorrowful thoughts, and relieved the troubles of his mind. Moradash fixing his eyes upon the crawling snake, and attentively considering its windings and motions for a while, resolved in his mind how it found out its way thither, having never seen it before. And therefore strengthening his opinion by his affection, concludes that this could be nothing else but the soul of his ancient father, who in this shape applied himself to his son for relief and nourishment. Upon which his superstition wrought so powerfully, that nothing now could alter this new opinion, but he must carefully nourish this snake, and so religiously conti-

nues a filial respect to it, appointing it daily a certain allowance of rice and milk. The snake lodges in a hole of the wall, and after taking his repast and liberty in the room, retires into his apartment, till hunger calls him forth to a fresh meal; and is now both by the scrivani and his family as carefully attended, as if his father were alive. This fond indulgent Indian is as profuse in his favours to some rats, which lodge in his house, and are grown as familiar as cats; for to these he allows some daily food, because he is certain they harbour the souls of some departed relations.

Some men think that this opinion of the metempsychosis takes its original from the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar into a beast, which is mentioned in the Book of Daniel; and that when his soul passed into that of a brute, when he was under a corporal transformation, the souls of other men might undergo the same fate after death, as a punishment for their crimes, as his was. For the ancient Gauls maintained the immortality of the soul, and its shifting continually from one body to another, and that according to its deportment here, such and such bodies were appointed it by God, more or less painful, and suitable to its condition. *Claud in Ruff, Lib. 2.*

*Muta ferarum*

*Cogit vincla pati, truculentos ingerit Ursis,  
Praedonesque Lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit,  
Atque ubi per varios Annos per mille figuras  
Egit, Lethaeo purgatos flumine tandem  
Rursus ad humanae revocat primordia formae.*

He made them wear the silent yolk of brutes, some that were cruel, he lodged in the bodies of bears and wolves; those that were crafty, in foxes, and others in other animals, till after the succession of a thousand years and shapes, at length they are replaced into human shapes, when they had been well purged in Lethe's Flood.

But to strengthen this consideration the more concerning Nebuchadnezzar, they observe, that this wonderful transformation of that great monarch, happened at or about the very same time that Pythagoras was at Babylon, whither he travelled

to gain the eastern learning; but this may be a small mistake in time. Hence he brought the report fresh with him, and being of a fanciful genius, thought the best way to solve that strange occurrence, was to assert a metempsychosis. But though there is no mention of the soul's transmigration more ancient among the Greeks than Pythagoras; yet among the Chineses, whose antiquities are said to be stretched backwards above four thousand years, there is this opinion yet current among their learned men, as well as among the Indians, and is agreed to be of ancient date: That the souls after death are subject to a transmigration. And it is not improbable that much of the Phœnician, as well as Grecian and Egyptian institutions, were derived from the ancient and remote fountains of learning, the Indies and China: especially, if we consider not only the opinion of the soul's transmigration, but of the eternity of matter; the four cardinal virtues, the indolence of body, and tranquillity of mind, abstinence from living creatures, and several others, which seem to be entirely oriental, and brought from thence by Pythagoras, Democritus, Lycurgus, and others, who travelled into those distant parts.

The days set apart for the public devotion of the Bannians are only two in a month, about our ninth and twenty-fourth; in which, by a very strict discipline, they abstain from all things eatable till the evening most religiously. And inculcate this severity upon their younger children, in their infant growth, to induce the observance of it with facility upon them, and to render the abstinence tolerable and less troublesome in their riper age.

The Pagans, who are bred to labour and manual occupations, consecrate each day in the week, and everything they take in hand thus far; that they fill their mouths with a pious song at the first dawning of the morning, as soon as ever they engage in their several employments and manual occupations, and never cease their secular vocation without concluding with the mixture of a holy rhyme. When a company of labourers are employed together about the same work, this sacred ballad is repeated by them sometimes alternately, sometimes by single persons, the rest answering in a chorus, all the day long, without the intermission of one quarter of an hour. The



lascars or sea-men upon the water, all the while they handle the oar, divert themselves by turns with this tuneful melody. This piece of religion they are so solemnly and constantly inured to, that if they designed the undertaking any work in secrecy and unobserved, the custom they have acquired in singing would be apt by some sudden eruption to betray their privacy, and discover the silence and obscurity they desired. I fancy the warmth of the air, which is apt to stupefy the spirits, and render them unwieldy and dull, was as likely a reason for introducing this melodious diversion, which is apt to keep them active and awake at their work, as it was to exercise the devotion of their thoughts. The introduction of this custom was probably designed by him, who writ the second volume of the five principal ones that are extant in China; which is a collection of odes, and several other little things of that nature. For music being greatly esteemed and much used in China, and whatever is published in this volume, having respect only to the purity of manners, and practice of virtue, those that wrote it composed it, in verse, to the end that every one being enabled to sing the things therein contained, they might be in every one's mouth. And from thence it might spread itself, for this very reason, as far as India.

Aurengzebe, upon an implacable detestation to the idolatry of the Bannians and other gentiles, has forbid in a great measure their Pagodes, and commanded both a defacing of them, and suppressing the solemnities of their public meetings, which thereupon is not so common as formerly, and that which is connived at, is generally in some distant privileged parts.

They repeat their devotions, especially the Moors, in the corners of the streets, and upon the housetops. in the highways, and where there is commonly a public concourse of people, as if they were ambitious of opportunities of demonstrating their zeal to the God they worship, whom they always approach with postures most submissive, and suitable to the respect of that awful majesty they implore. After they have bended the knee, they in the most profound prostration kiss the ground frequently with their foreheads, express their fervency in devotion with the most ardent pathetic aspirations, in the mornings especially, and with the setting sun.

India, of all the regions of the earth, is the only public theatre of justice and tenderness to brutes, and all living creatures; for not confining murder to the killing of a man, they religiously abstain from taking away the life of the meanest animal, mite, or flea; any of which if they chance wilfully to destroy, nothing less than a very considerable expiation must atone for the offence. This precept was comprehended in that short system of injunctions laid down by Draco and Triptolemus, the most ancient law-givers among the Athenians, to honour their parents, and neither to kill man nor beast. And it is observed, that the benefits which the barbarians fancied they received from beasts, made them less cruel and severe towards them, and sometimes consecrate them, which Plutarch thus excuses in the Egyptians, saying, *That it was not the cat, the ox, or the dog which they adored; but that in these beasts, they adored some resemblance of the divine perfections; in this, the vigilance, in that the patience and utility, and the vivacity in the other.* But however a civil regard, though no veneration, is enjoined as a common duty of humanity, which forbids an arbitrary violence, a cruel or wanton malice towards them. Therefore the Romans, pleased with the vigilance of the geese, by public voice took care of their nourishment. And beyond this, the Athenians decreed a liberty of summering it up and down, and taking their choice and range in any pasture, hill, or valley, to the mules that were employed in building the temple, called Hecatompodon.

But that which most of all amuses and disturbs the Bannians, is our destruction of living creatures in their growing years; for in this they condemn us of folly, as well as cruelty, in preventing that greater advantage which we might promise ourselves by their increase in bulk and age; and denominates it, in their opinion, a disadvantageous, as well as barbarous action in those that kill them. And therefore they mightily decry our inhumanity, and inveigh severely against our imprudence in slaughtering kids, lambs, chickens, &c. But above all, the calf is the darling animal among them, as the goat is the idol adored by the Bonzes of Tunquin, whose life they seldom fail to ransom, and that sometimes at an immoderate rate, when they find it is in danger. Therefore the gentiles near Goa used to divide

the meat, when it was ready, into three parts; the first was given to the poor, the second to the cow, and the third to the family. The young factors at Surat divert themselves with this fondness of the Bannians to the dumb creatures, and make an advantage of their tenderness and respects to them; for the English caterer is cautious in buying a calf for slaughter, lest some Bannian, friend to the factory, should beg the life of it, or some way molest or prevent him in taking it away; though at other times he makes himself a gainer by its redemption. Sometimes the young men enter with a gun or small fowling-piece into the fields and enclosures adjoining to the habitations of the Bannians, and there make a show of shooting sparrows, turtle-doves, or other small birds among the trees, which when the Bannian observes (as it is designed he should) he runs in haste, as it were for life, to bribe the fowler, not only with courteous expressions and fair speeches, but with ready money, not to persist in his diversion; and drops in his hand a rupee or two to be gone, and not defile the ground with the effusion of any blood upon it; for all kind of fowl are as dear to them, as ever the dove was to Semiramis, or the swan was unto Philip; and they entertain all their fellow animals with a singular esteem and kind respect; and are at considerable annual expenses for preserving their lives from inhumanity and death.

For within a mile distance from Surat is a large hospital, supported by the Bannians in its maintenance of cows, horses, goats, dogs, and other animals diseased, or lame, infirm or decayed by age; for when an ox, by many years toil grows feeble, and unfit for any farther service; lest this should tempt a merciless owner to take away his life, because he finds him an unprofitable burthen, and his flesh might be serviceable to him when he was dead; therefore the Bannian reprieves his destiny, either by begging him from the owner, or by buying of him at a certain rate, and then places him in the hospital, where he is rescued from any other death, but what is due to nature, and is there attended and fed, till he spins out the appointed customary term of life. This charity which they extend to beasts, is accounted by them an act of great reputation and virtue; nor can they be reconciled to that inhuman cruelty, which destroys those creatures which are the nurses of our lives, and by whose labour we live at ease.

Near this hospital is another built for the preservation of bugs, fleas, and other vermin, which suck the blood of men; and therefore to maintain them with that choice diet to which they are used, and to feed them with their proper fare, a poor man is hired now and then to rest all night upon the cot, or bed, where the vermin are put, and fastened upon it, lest the stinging of them might force him to take his flight before the morning, and so they nourish themselves by sucking his blood, and feeding on his carcass.

Once a year the charitable Bannian prepares a set banquet for all the flies that are in his house, and sets down before them, upon the floor or table, large shallow dishes of sweet milk and sugar mixed together, the most delicious fare of that liquorish little creature.

At other times he extends his liberality to the pismires, and walks with a bag of rice under his arm, two or three miles forward into the country, and stops, as he proceeds, at each ant-hill that he meets with, to leave behind him his benevolence, a handful or two of rice strawed upon the ground, which is the beloved dainty on which the hungry pismires feed, and their best reserve and store in time of need.

Therefore they never taste the flesh of any thing that has breathed the common air, nor pollute themselves with feeding on any thing endowed with life; and are struck with astonishment at the voracious appetites of the Christians, who heap whole bisks of fish upon their tables, and sacrifice whole hecatombs of animals to their gluttony. They cannot be tempted, either by the delicacy of the food, or for prevention of either sickness or death, to so enormous an offence as the tasting of flesh. Vegetable products, and the milk of cattle, rice, and other sorts of gram, which nature affords in plenty, and they with innocence can enjoy, is the lawful nourishment they delight in; nor will they be induced, by the mere indulgence of their appetites, to make their tables altars of luxury and excesses, no more than the original inhabitants of the world, whom antiquity supposes not to have been carnivorous, nor to have tasted flesh in those first ages, but only to have fed upon fruits and herbs.

The prohibition of flesh being eaten with the blood, was an ancient sanction of the east, and is very universal to this

day. It was forbidden by Moses, because he placed the life in it; nor is it dispensed with by the Mahometans. Some ancient philosophers, as Empedocles, placed the seat of the soul in the blood, and Democritus assigned it the whole body: And though the Bannians are under restraint from the blood of either animal, or that of the grape, yet will they freely taste the grapes themselves, and entertain themselves luxuriously with their juice, while it is innocent and harmless. We have grapes brought to Surat, from the middle of February till towards the end of March; some from Amadavad, some from a village called Naapoure, four days journey distant from Surat. They feed likewise upon pineapples, custard-apples, so called, because they resemble a custard in colour and taste, and many other sorts of fruit unknown to Europe. But the mangoes are of principal esteem, and the most common fruit of India. They have a stone in the middle, by which and their outward shape, they come nearest to the form of our long plums of any fruit, only they are generally much larger; they attribute many medicinal qualities to this sort of fruit, and ascribe to it those virtues which free them from all diseases incident to that season of the year, and sometimes those chronical distempers they labour under. They are of exquisite taste when they come to maturity, and are eaten then in vast quantities by the Indians and Europeans, as well for the security of their health as for pleasure and delight. When they are green, they are pickled there and sent abroad, and make that mango achar, which we taste in England.

The cold quality of the cucumber is here so prepared and digested by the sun's heat, that the Bannians, without endangering their health, will feed upon them as plentifully as we do upon apples. And the water-melons are very large, delicious, and easily purchased, and very refreshing cooling fruit in the warmer season. But the musk-melons from Amadavad, highly deserve that fragrant name, being enriched both with a flavour and a taste superior to any of that kind in the world.

The Bannians are not restrained from the liberal draughts of tea and coffee, to revive their wasted spirits, any part of the day; but in those they may revel uncensured, as long as they please; and have there more inviting temptations to drink them

plentifully, than with us. For the coffee, when it is truly boiled and prepared, carries a kind of yellow oil upon the head of it by which it acquires a soft, pleasant relish, and requires so much art in bringing it to this perfection, that it engages some who affect this sort of liquor in the expense of a skilful peon on purpose to look after it in the preparation. This berry is of very common growth in Arabia, especially about Mocha, and from thence is transported to the remotest regions of the east or west. Coffee is said to be good for cleansing the blood, for helping digestion, and quickening the spirits.

Tea likewise is a common drink with all the inhabitants of India, as well Europeans as natives, and by the Dutch is used as such a standing entertainment, that the tea-pot is seldom off the fire, or unemployed. This hot liquor it may be supposed might not seem so proper and agreeable to so hot an air, and yet we find is very convenient for our health, and agreeable to the habits of our bodies. And even all the arak punch which is drunk there, is seldom touched, till by a heated iron, or wedge of gold, it is made lukewarm. This both supplies the vapours which are continually exhaled from the body, and helps the prevention of fevers by keeping the pores open.

Tea, with some hot spice intermixed and boiled in the water, has the repute of prevailing against the headache, gravel, and griping in the guts, and it is generally drunk in India, either with sugar-candy, or, by the more curious, with small conserved lemons. And a dram of double distilled arak, is prescribed likewise as an excellent remedy against the gripes, and such inward twistings of the bowels. The frequent use of this innocent tea, and the perpetual perspiration caused by the heat, which is augmented by this liquor, are the reason why the gout and stone, agues, rheumatisms and catarrhs are rarely heard of in these parts. The heat indeed abates the vigour of our spirits, and thereby induces a languid faintness, which is the general, but withal a very tolerable infirmity, in respect of those acute distempers. The Chinese, among whom the tea grows, take abundance of this drink before their meals, and are generally very plump and in very good liking.

Our English president enquired much for the flower of tea, among those who had been conversant in China, but could

never obtain a sight of any; and it seems very doubtful whether that shrub bears any flowers at all upon it. For a Chinese mandarine, who arrived at Surat in the quality of an envoy from Limpo, brought with him several kinds of tea, but no flower; some of it was so valuable in China, that a single catte of it was reputed a noble present for the chief ministers, and it was very rarely to be found, however he brought with him a taste of it for our president, among several other kinds, wherein he gave him a morning entertainment. And a learned physician, who for some years had lived in China, spoke nothing of this flower of tea, only gave this account of three other sorts that grew there, and were most frequently drunk among them, viz. bing, singlo, and bohe. Bohe is a small leaf and very young, and by its moisture, upon the score of its undergrowth, requires more than an ordinary fixure, which makes it acquire that blackness visible in it, and which discolours the water to a kind of redness. The second is singlo, which is a larger leaf, because more grown. The third, which is bing, is the largest of all, and is in China of a proportionable larger rate than the other two. Singlo obtains most among the Europeans; but bohe among the Chinese has so much the esteem and precedence above the other two, that in their sickness they totally forbid them, but in their most dangerous distempers instantly make use of this; and experience convinces them of the choice and utility of that leaf in their extremities. They all proceed, he told me, from a shrub about the height of our gooseberry or curran bushes. The leaf is first green, but is made crisp and dry by frying twice, or oftener, in a pan; and as often as it is taken off the fire it is rolled with the hand upon a table, till it curls. This preparation is cautiously concealed from all strangers, and was accidentally known to him by the opportunity he once had of peeping through the crevice of a door when it was a preparing. He found it growing in the latitude of 51, as well as in a warmer air; which gives a probable conjecture for its thriving in our kingdom; for London lies near the same parallel.

As musk and amber grease are said to damage pearl, so is tea prejudiced by the approach of unsavoury smells, and particularly of *Assa Foetida*, and is so delicate and tender, that it is

injured by the very breath of only the common ambient air. For preventing which it is enclosed in pots of totaneg, or in strong large tubs of wood, and in them is safely sent abroad.

The Bannian seldom drinks of the common water of the wells or rivers, only what falls from heaven in the time of the monsoons, which is preserved in large tanks and cisterns made on purpose to receive it, and keep it ready for their use the following year. For in this, as well as his diet, he is very squeamish; and therefore he confines his draught to those heavenly showers, which he esteems a more pure and ethereal liquor for descending from above.

Dye (Dalv) is a particular innocent kind of diet, fed upon by the Indians for the most part about noon. It is sweet milk turned thick, mixed with boiled rice and sugar, and is very effectual against the rage of fevers and of fluxes, the prevailing distempers of India. Early in the morning, or late at night, they seldom touch it, because they esteem it too cool for their stomachs and nocturnal delights.

Kitcheree is another dish very common among them, made of daal, that is, a small round pea and rice boiled together, and is very strengthening, though not very savoury. Of this the European sailors feed in those parts once or twice a week, and are forced at those times to a pagan abstinence from flesh, which creates in them a perfect dislike and utter detestation to those Bannian days, as they commonly call them.

Wood is the only combustible matter in Surat, which is commonly made use of in the kitchen, either by Indian or European, for boiling and roasting their victuals. Some of the more poor natives make fires of dried cow-dung. There is not any necessity of fuel in private apartments, the great globe of light is the universal fire all over India, which cherishes and keeps them warm without any expence of chimneys or of hearths in their lodging-rooms. The firewood is bought in the bazar by weight, for so much the seer, and is brought home by servants. And every rupee which the servant lays out in buying either this or any other goods, he peremptorily demands back for his own use a couple of pice from the seller.

The Bannian is very curious in dressing his meat, and preparing his victuals; and therefore lest some unclean hand



should have touched what is sold already cooked in the shops or the bazar, he seldom buys any from thence, but eats what is dressed only by his own domestics. In their solemn entertainments they are kind and communicative, to the meanest attendant of any person of consequence or rank whom they invite to their houses; and like the great men at Tunquin, will provide almost for the very dogs.

In the middle of the city is built a noble spacious caravan-sarai, or inn, for the convenience of merchants that are strangers, and resort hither for traffic, where they may decently repose at night. For here are no public houses for the entertainment of guests or travellers, lest the jealousy of the husbands should be raised concerning their wives and daughters, by the frequency of such temptations. And upon this account, all men whose affairs call them into the country, either take care of providing their own victuals, or commit that charge to their peons and attendants, to make it ready for them at their resting-places by day, or in the fields where they sleep at night.

As the heat of the sun, when it is in the Meridian, is very apt to pall the appetite, and dissipate that warmth and heat of the stomach, which is proper for digestion; so the Bannians and Moors, to prevent that inconvenience, change their repasts to other seasons of the day, and take their collations about 8 or 9 in the morning, and at 4 or 5 in the afternoon. And often at midnight, after their nocturnal embraces, they recover their spirits by some nourishing food, to excite them again to fresh amours.

The heat of the day is spent in rest and sleeping, to refresh their exhausted strength, sometimes upon cots, and sometimes upon bichhaunas, which are thick quilts, spread the breadth of a room, and the length of a man, with bolsters at the head, where eight or nine may sleep together. They seldom take their repose without a wench in their arms, that is a small pillaber upon their stomach to defend it from the ambient vapours that might be apt to annoy it; and seldom use any other covering but their shirts and drawers, except it be a sheet or slight calico spread over them.

The garments which the Indians wear, are generally made of white calico, fashioned into caba's, that is, outward coats,

somewhat like our frocks, turning over their breasts as far as the shoulders, and from thence tied with strings down to the middle, with a puggaree, or turban upon their heads. It was very surprizing at first, to view so many people passing up and down, most of one coloured cloths, and those white. For a distinction between the Moors and Bannians, the Moors tie their caba's always on the right side, and the Bannians on the left, and if any European thinks fit to dress himself, and take upon him the Indian garb, he therein compliments the Moors, and pays his respect to their manner of wearing and putting it on. The length of their breeches, which descend to their heels, serve them instead of stockings; which is the reason that their language has no word for our stockings, so that they thrust their feet always bare into their shoes, which are very neatly embroidered with gold, or silver, or silk flowers

No man in India, no not the Mogul's son, is permitted the privilege of wearing a kittisal or umbrella, let the sun's beams be never so scorehing, but a peon goes before the great men, carrying a small screen made of ostrich feathers, to shade his eyes. The use of the umbrella is sacred to the prince, appropriated only to his use.

The Bannians observe several fasts, but one more solemn in the year is much remarked, when they drink nothing in the morning but the fresh stale of the worshipful cow, which they fancy is abstersive, and endowed with a kind of lustral quality, apt to purify the defilements of a Bannian; as one of themselves was pleased to tell me.

Their constant ablutions and daily washings, their abstinence from animals and from wine, had doubtless a prospect more than what was merely religious in it; they were not imprudently designed upon a civil account, to keep their organs clear, their spirits lively, and their constitutions free from those diseases, which a grosser diet is apt to create in these warm climates, and to preserve their bodies neat and clean by frequent bathings and lustrations. For there is not one of these customs which are fastened upon them by the rules of their religion, but what comport very well, and highly contribute to the health and pleasure of their lives. And for this end they are much addicted to sweet smells and fragrant exhalations, and generally

each night procure a necklace of jessemy flowers to sleep with, for at that time they more sensibly emit their fragrant vapours. The scent of flowers is much abated on the day time, being dissipated by the great heat; which is the reason why the streets of Surat, though in many places overspread with the excrements, of men and beasts, yet never molest those that pass through them, by an unsavoury smell, because the sun's attenuation of the vapours, diminishes their strength from annoying the sense.

Under their abstemious mortifying diet, the Bannians maintain as good a habit of body, are as comly and proportionable as other people, and live to reckon as many years as those that pity their spare food. But in their thoughts they are often more quick and nimble, by that course of living they choose to delight in, which renders their spirits more pure and subtle, and thereby greatly facilitates their comprehension of things. Besides, this religious abstinence very much disengages their affections to the world, disentangles their fears of death, and passions for these momentary things; it sets their spirits upon the wing, ready without reluctance to quit this life, in expectation of a better, and makes many of them pass as cheerfully into the invisible world, as they would take a journey from their own kingdom to another country.

Their wealth consists only in cash and jewels, the distinction of personal and real estate is not heard in India, and that they preserve as close and private as they can, lest the Mogul's exchequer should be made their treasury. This curbs them in their expenses, and awes them to great secrecy in their commerce, especially in their receiving, or payments of money, for which they either make use of the darkness of the night, or of the obscurity of the morning, in conveying it to the place of payment. For should the Mogul's officers see the chests and bags of gold and silver carried as publicly here, as they are in the streets of London, they would be apt to change their owner, and be delivered to him who calls himself the original proprietor. And yet the conditions of these Indians is not so vile and lamentable by much, as that of the commonalty at Tunquin, where the vulgar mechanics are slaves for one part of the year, and work three months for the King, and two for

the Mandarins, and are only allowed the rest of the year for themselves, for supporting of their wives and families. This is called there *Viecquam*, that is the condition of a slave.

But I was told of a noble Bannian at Amadavad, who, by bribing the nabob into a connivance, did on public festivals, and times of jubilee make his entertainments in dishes and plates of solid gold. But poor man, his splendid living did not hold out long, before it raised the envy of a neighbouring Moor, who could not endure this repeated magnificence in a gentile, and therefore dogging the merchant as he rode one day out of the city, he followed him at a distance, and shot him dead with a poisoned arrow. Sumptuousness and state suit not very well with the life and condition of a Bannian; they must not both flourish long together. This keeps our brokers at Surat, who are Bannians, from all costly disbursements, though they are reckoned by some to be worth 15, by others 30 lacs of rupees, and causes a contraction of their expenses, and a retrenchment of their tables to three or four thousand rupees a year, without any show of a luxurious garniture, either on their dishes, or in their houses.

Their main cost is expended upon their women, who ambitiously affect a gait in their dress and clothing. Jewels and ornaments are the very joy of their hearts, (as they usually call them) with which they are decked from the crown of the head to the very feet. Their toes are adorned with rings, and their legs with shackles of gold, or silver, or some other metal, which are sometimes above two inches in diameter, wreathed and hollow. The women that carry the water about the streets, will not walk abroad without these ornaments upon them. Some tie up the hair of their beads, and put it under a hollow large piece of silver, raised somewhat like a bell, gilt, and neatly embellished on the outside, and fastened to the crown of their beads. Some wear ear-rings all round their ears, which for ornament's sake will dangle sometimes almost down to their shoulders, and have bracelets about their necks and arms, and rings about their wrists, and on every finger. Some adorn themselves with breast jewels, formed in fashion of a heart, composed of variety of diamonds, rubies, sapphires and other stones of esteem; and on their foreheads wear a gold bodkin, broad at the end, beset

with glittering diamonds, or some other precious stones. And as they are much taken with this gawdy attire, and delight in these splendid ornaments themselves, so they think them a kindness to the very brutes; and show their affection to a darling cow, or favourite goat, by fastening large rings of some metal or other about their legs. Nor will they spare their ornamental favours to the fruit trees in their gardens, but show them their profuse respect in adorning them with a painting of diverse colours.

The meanest female in Surat is not wholly destitute of ornaments upon her body, though she be able to spend no more than two or three pice a day. For herbs (which are the common food of the poor) are here in plenty, and bought at very low rates, which encourages the daily labourers to work for very low wages. And the moderate barber (which is not the meanest profession) shaves the beard, and cuts the hair, picks the ears, and pairs the nails, all for one pice or two.

The love of women, which is rooted in men's hearts by nature, and which discovers itself in people of all ages, nations, qualities, and constitutions, is cherished betimes by the Bannian, who courts and sometimes marries his mistress at six or seven years of age, and cohabits at eleven or twelve, or sometimes sooner. And some of the gentile sects, before they feel any great warmth of this amorous passion, are by their parents joined together in their very infancy, at three or four years of age. From which time they endeavour mutually to kindle this tender passion, till the growing years blow it up into a lively flame. And by a thousand little tricks and arts of love they endeavour to stamp their affections upon their infant souls, which like melted wax are pliant and easy to receive the impression, and so they are insensibly captivated by each other's snares. The young lover wins upon his mistress's passions by frequent visits, large presents, and munificent gifts, whilst her soft looks and innocent air form his mind into kind and amorous inclinations towards her. And thus being happily prepossessed with a mutual good liking, even as it were from the womb, as if they had been born lovers, they are taken off from all objects, and freed from the disappointments of fickle mistresses, and from being wearied with whining addresses to coy damsels. Which,

besides others, may be some reason why the Indian wives committed themselves with so much cheerfulness into the funeral flames with their dead husbands; because their sympathetic minds, linked together from their infancy, were then fed with such early tastes of love, as became the seminary of those strong and forcible inclinations in their riper years, and made the pains of death become preferable to a life abandoned (by) the society of those they so entirely loved. For what could fix their affections more than the cherishing of them in their tender years, and digesting them with their mother's milk? Or form their embryo passions into more strength and duration, than confining them early to such an object, as might receive their entire good liking, before ever they were distracted by various volatile affections?

But the reason alleged by them for these infant marriages, is, because they esteem it a matter of more decency to approach their brides in their purer state, before they come to riper years. And for hastening the young mistress's maturity for the conjugal embraces, great care is taken of a proper diet, and that she feed plentifully upon milk, boiled two or three quarts into one, which they find by experience is very nourishing, and ripens them for being fit to come together at eleven or twelve. The husband drinks largely of melted butter, which he finds very apt to invigorate his spirits, and makes use of it as oil to his flame.

Second marriages, which are indulged to the men, are solemnly prohibited to the women, because this engages their fidelity so much the more to the first lovers, in that they are debarred all hopes and prospect of all others. But with this additional severity upon the young maids, whose husbands die before they cohabit, that they are obliged to a discoosolate virginity all the days of their lives; and must never contract with another man, though they are unfortunately widows at six or seven years of age.

Polygamy likewise, besides second marriages, is allowed the wanton husbands, who notwithstanding are not often so very amorous as to prosecute that liberty, or rather thralldom, to more wives than one at once. The nature of the climate inclines them much to this amorous passion, which stings them with

impatient desires, and makes them restless by delays; and yet though marriage upon this account is so very necessary and agreeable, they do not think that the variety of women will compensate for the double burden and inconvenience of them in a family; nor do they imagine that it is worth their while to satisfy the fervour of their wandering desires, that is attended with such a train of mischievous consequences. A merry Bannian was wont often to complain of this folly, of engaging with two wives at once, and venturing too hastily upon a double marriage, because the fondness of the two wives provoked them to continual feuds and jealousies. For he could never enjoy the one without disturbance to the other, whose passions were presently alarmed upon any token of kindness extraordinary. When he was wheedled into a liking of the one, the other would pout and ask him if he meant to forsake her? And if he was going that way, would hold him by the coat, and pull him back to her. This urged to him, that she was the wife of his youth, that they had contracted a long and intimate acquaintance, and his first solemn engagements were made to her: The other replies to him, that she now ought to partake more liberally of his favours, and his thoughts should incline more kindly towards her, since the other possessed him so long before. Thus the distracted husband was twitted on both sides, and at a stand many times which way to turn for his own tranquillity and their satisfaction, and often in his Indian English confessed, English fashion, say, best fashion have, one wife best for one husband. And it is seldom but among a multitude of wives, there will now and then happen debate and contest. We read of a custom among the ancient Britains which seems peculiar to themselves, and not found in the stories of any other nations, either civil or barbarous, not of many wives belonging to one husband, which is the case of many heathen nations, but a society of wives among certain numbers, and by common consent. Every man married a single woman, who was always after and alone esteemed his wife: But it was usual for five or six, ten or twelve, or more, either brothers or friends, as they could agree, to have all their wives in common. But neither did this method preserve an entire amity and affection among them, but sometimes encounters and disputes happened.

The Nairos women hold matrimony in such singular esteem, that they think it sacred, and so necessary in this life, that if they chance to die virgins, they are debarred from entering into paradise. And are therefore extreme solicitous of not neglecting the happy opportunity of the marriage state, which is reckoned by them a necessary introduction to so much bliss.

Clandestine marriages and stolen brides are things unheard of at Surat. For both the bridegroom and the bride and their several attendants, appear publicly in the richest garments, in the gayest equipage and splendour, which they can either purchase for their money, or procure by their friendship. Flags, flambeaus, music, state-coaches, and led horses, are all too little for this day's solemnity. The pretty bride then puts on her costly jewels, and is trimmed with all the finest silks, sits queen of the ceremony, carried in triumph through the streets of the city. The bridegroom likewise is set off with all the advantage of rich clothes and trappings; and there is nothing great and noble in Surat, but is purchased for them, according to their abilities, to give credit to the nuptials, and adorn the solemnity; which is performed after this manner. When the joyful bridegroom and the bride, with their costly equipage and pompous train, have marched through the principal places of the city, in public view of all spectators, seated upon some delicate Indian horse, or Persian or Arabian steed, ambitiously courting the eyes and observance of all as they pass along, to take notice of that honourable state they are now proceeding to: When with a blameless undisguised assurance they have finished their stately progress through all the noted places of the town, they turn about to the bride's habitation, where they enter, and are seated opposite to one another in two chairs, with a table put between them. Then stretching forth their hands to each other over the table, they join them together, and the Bramin, standing by, covers each of their heads with one large hood or pamarm, which is spread over them about a quarter of an hour, till he has finished his prayers for their happiness, and made an end of his benediction, and then loosing their hands, and uncovering their heads, the ceremonious part of the marriage is concluded. And now the mirth and festivity follow; now they begin to scatter about their perfumes, to sprinkle their



guests with rose water, poured upon them out of silver cruets, and so refresh them with sweet smells. The cabas and puggaries, i.e. all their exterior garments, are wet with unguents, and coloured yellow with the rich and fragrant essence of saffron, which remains upon their clothes for a week, to declare their presence at this joyful meeting. For the nature of saffron being very cordial, and apt to exhilarate the mind, is sprinkled outwardly as a token of their inward mirth and gladness. And to complete this sumptuous jollity, the guests are all invited to lie down to a large costly banquet.

In the celebration of these marriages, they are much addicted to the strict observance of particular days, and only upon those that are accounted lucky, will they undertake the celebration, because their pitiable foolish superstition has laid severe restraint upon their consciences, from marrying upon any days of bad omen. Upon those which they account lucky, will sometimes be solemnized more weddings, than in two or three months at other times, sometimes two or three hundred on a day. Such as are wealthy, continue the sumptuous festival entertainments above the space of a week, which with the large expenses at their funeral feasts, drains their fortunes, and keeps them low; and if they are poor, never suffers them to grow wealthy. These charges upon their estates, the Mogul encourages on purpose, by this artifice to break their spirits and fortunes, that he may keep them servile and less able to rebel against him.

When once the husband and the wife come to cohabit, she is then under great distinctions of respect, and in a manner obliged to a kind of servile attendance upon his person, however in language and deportment the man appears very kind and obliging, and shows a tenderness to the partner of his bed.

But among all the nations of the East, the Siameses excel in civility of expressions to the female sex. For their language (as we are told) admits no distinction of masculine and feminine in their genders, which is the cause, that whenever they would express a woman, they add young to the masculine, to imply the feminine; whereby their language hinders a woman from ever growing old, by affixing always youth to the female; as

when, for example, they would name an empress, they would say young emperor.

The Bramins marry, as well as the other Indians; and treasure up sometimes abundance of wealth, which is bequeathed to their families, for maintenance of their widows, and to portion their children. One of the Bramins, who had been straitened in his abilities from giving a competent portion with his daughter, which was then closely courted, contrives this stratagem to squeeze some hundreds of rupees from the people for that purpose. He ascended a tree, which stood without the gates of his city, and then declared, that there he would fix his habitation; there he would stay and starve, and never come down, till they contributed among them to make up the sum. The affrighted inhabitants, who are tender of the life of any animal, thought it not fit to dally with that of their priest, but lest his obstinate resolution of continuing there might endanger the welfare of him they so highly esteemed, and involve them in the guilt of sacred blood, therefore with united hearts they clubbed together to make up a common purse, which was delivered to the damsel as a dowry. The crafty priest upon this descended from perching aloft in the boughs of the tree, and was kindly congratulated at his coming down for sparing his life, which he had taken private care of that it should not be in any danger, by engaging an accomplice to convey to him secretly what nourishment might be necessary for his subsistence.

One sort of Bramins at Surat, which are by much the strictest sect among them, do far exceed the rest in abstractions from sense, and abstemious living, and refrain from entering the conjugal state, lest some animals, as they tell us, might be crushed to death by their mutual embraces. And therefore to keep up the succession of this priesthood, if any lay person of their tribe has two or three sons, one of them is chosen from among the rest to be consecrated to this order. This sort of Bramins are sparing of their speech, and will rarely speak, for fear of killing some invisible creatures, which they affirm float in the air, and which some of their holy men have seen, though others cannot. They also sweep the places where they rest with a brush, lest they should crush some animal by sitting upon it. And for this end a cloth is always tied cross their mouth, and fastened

at each ear, to prevent all invisible volatile creatures approaching their breath, lest it might prove fatal to them. And though ablutions are so necessary in India, so universally practised, and so solemnly enjoined, yet cannot this sort of Bramins be brought over to this convenient discipline, to wash their bodies, and cleanse themselves with water, for fear of murdering some creatures which they fancy live in that element. Nor will they drink cold water till it is boiled, because they say it has life in it, and that would destroy it. They neither cut their beards, nor shave their heads; but notwithstanding all the pain of it, pull all the hair up by the roots, as fast as it grows on those parts of their bodies. And wholly careless of the future, and never anxious for tomorrow's concerns; they take all cheerfully that happens each day, and of the provision which providence sends them, if any overplus remains, they liberally distribute to such as want it, and trust the same providence for the following day. Thus they live extempore, and as little solicitous for the world, as if they had been intimately acquainted with our saviour's rule, *Take no thought for tomorrow, but let the morrow take thought for the things of itself; sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.*

The Bannians, at the naming of their children, which is about ten days after the nativity, perform that ceremony after this manner. They call together about a dozen children, and put into their hands a large sheet, which is spread, and they standing round, take hold of it in a circle, and bear it up from the ground. The Bramin standing by, has brought to him thither two or three seer of rice, which he pours into the middle of the sheet, and upon the rice lays the child to be named. The young boys that hold the sheet shake the child and the rice together to and fro, for a quarter of an hour or more. The father's sister then steps near, and has the right of naming the child, but in case of her absence, or death, this privilege devolves upon the father or the mother of the infant. When the child has thus received its name, it continues so for the space of a month or two, after the expiration whereof they proceed further towards its perfect initiation into the Bannian religion; and then it is brought to the pagoda, where the Bramin is ready, and mixes some shavings of sandalwood, camphor, cloves,

and several other sweet-scented perfumes, and puts them upon the child's head; after which it is esteemed a member of their religion, and commences complete Bannian

The mother, till ten days after childbed, is touched by none but a dry nurse, nor is she allowed herself to put forth her hands for the dressing of any meat till forty days be passed after lying in, and she be perfectly past her purification.

The cradles for the children in India are much easier, and more convenient than ours, that are placed and move upon the ground. For theirs are hung in the air by strings tied to each end, and fastened to a beam or post above, and so swing to and fro with a soft quiet motion by the slightest touch of the hand. And this was answerable to the tenderness and care they had for their children's temper, even whilst they were carried in the womb; who provided such convenient food and innocent diversions, such pleasing entertainments of their senses and fancy for the teeming women at that time, that the minds of the children might participate thereby of those delights, might be cheerful and serene, and free from all dismal impressions from their parent, and so their lives afterwards might be composed and exempt from all anxious thoughts, from all turbulent desires, and vexatious agonies of spirit. And from hence I will proceed to one of the last things I shall take notice of concerning the Bannians, and that is their burials.

As every man's coming into the world necessarily infers his going out of it, and consequently a separation of body and soul, all the world therefore seems much concerned, what will become after death, of that other part of themselves, in the sepulture of their bodies. And as there have been five ways of disposing of the dead, one, to put them into the ground, another, to cast them into the water; the third, to leave them in the open air, the fourth, to burn them, the fifth, to suffer them to be devoured by beasts. So of these five, two have principally obtained in the world; that, of committing their bodies to the earth, and the other, to the flames. The last of these is made choice of by the Bannians, who carry their dead bodies to a pile of wood near the waterside, not far from Surat, which is presently kindled after the corpse is laid upon it, and when the flame has reduced it to ashes, the

remains are thrown into the river. They likewise, if they are able, burn some fragrant wood of great value with the corpse, to sweeten the air, and mix its perfumes with the black exhalations. And were it not for the tyranny of custom, it seems more honourable to have our bodies consumed by that lively element, than to have them devoured by worms and putrefaction; whereof fire being an enemy, and the emblem and most sensible hieroglyphic of immortality, there can be no better expedient to secure our friends from oblivion, than that of burning their bodies, whereof we have either the bones or ashes left, which may be preserved whole ages. The several nations of the world had customs of their own, which commencing upon uncertain principles, have been derived to their posterity, and received with a religious fancy; and they would rather die, than do an act of violence to them, and believed it the greatest impiety in the world to break them. Whereof Herodotus gives a full instance in a trial made by Darius to the Indians and Greeks. He asked the Greeks, what they would take to do as the Indians did, who eat their dead parents and friends, and accounted it the most honourable burial? They answered, They would not do it at any price. And when he asked the Indians, upon what account they would be induced to burn the bodies of their fathers, and not to eat them? They desired him not to speak to them of any such horrid impiety, as to burn their father's carasses, and to deny them the honour of a natural burial in the bowels of their dear children. This shows how custom is the spirit and genius of a man's actions, and introduces a nature and religion itself: and were the prejudice of that removed, other civilized nations might doubtless be as zealous for burning their dead friends, as the Bannians are nowadays.

The four elements were formerly worshipped by the ancient Siamese, who committed their bodies, when dead, to what they adored when they were alive. He therefore that worshipped the earth, made choice of that for his interment; the fire consumed the corpse of its adorers; the worshippers of the air were exposed to the birds to devour them; and those that revered the element of water, were drowned in it at their burial. This care of men's bodies after death seems natural to mankind, and almost

universal; which Osiris king of Egypt taking notice of, made use of an encouragement to virtue, and an argument for the practice of morality among his people. Those whose virtues were illustrious, and whose characters were unblemished, were appointed by him to be buried in beautiful fields, near Memphis, verdant with all manner of flowers; whilst the others were assigned to places of punishment and ignominy, whose lives had been dissolute and vicious

The gentiles of India, as if they were weary of their friends when alive, and loath to harbour them when dead, burn the body sometimes before it is quite dead, and when they think it past recovery. A Bannian, who was broker to the English, was thus hurried away to the burning place, as he was just expiring; but being happily met by the English surgeon, who felt his pulse, and gave some hopes of recovery, some kinder friend among the rest, dissuaded the company from proceeding, and in a little time, by the application of a few cordials, he was recovered to his health, and by that miraculous chance evaded an untimely end.

The corpse is carried upon a bier, according to the custom of the Moors, attended by friends and relations, who as they pass along the road, are incessantly repeating *Ram! Ram!* that is, in their language, *God! God!* For *Ram*, they say, was formerly the name of a mighty prince among them, and is now invoked by them, as if he were God, or the name translated to the Almighty.

If a rajah dies, his subjects and dependants cut off all their beards, and shave their heads, as tokens of the deepest mourning for his decease; which is such a solemn sign of grief and extraordinary sorrow, that this nakedness and want of nature's covering and ornament of the head and face, is never shown, but for a prince, a parent, or some nearest relation.

Upon the death of any friend, the Bannians are not sparing of their cost, but spend profusely in banqueting and feasts, which are kept publicly for the two or three days following; then they observe upon the same account, the twelfth, the twentieth, the thirtieth, and the fortieth, besides once each quarter of the succeeding year, till the annual solemnity returns. And he who at these times is parsimonious, and endeavours

to contract his expenses, is accounted, if he be a man of wealth, the most sordid miser in the world.

The impious opinion which the Indians formerly entertained, of having a power over their own lives, as they were masters of themselves, caused many of them to venture upon death at pleasure, and as advantageous to the soul, by securing it some degrees of felicity and virtue. And for this reason the loving husband enamoured with his kind or beautiful wife, would sometimes burn himself with her in the funeral pile, in expectation of a happy future enjoyment of her. But this was seldom. For it generally fell to the wife's lot to be committed to the flames with the dead husband. And this heathenish custom was introduced, because of the libidinous disposition of the women, who through their inordinate lust would often poison their present husbands, to make way for a new lover. This was so far encouraged by the politic Bramin, who was always a gainer by her death; that if any woman refused to burn, her head was ordered presently to be shaved, that she might appear contemptible and infamous for ever after. For all the jewels she put on, who decked her body for the flames, when she was resolved to die, were carefully looked after by the priest, and made his propriety after her death; because he only had power to touch the ashes, and rake therein for gold and silver.

Since the Mahometans became masters of the Indies, this execrable custom is much abated, and almost laid aside, by the orders which the nabobs receive for suppressing and extinguishing it in all their provinces. And now it is very rare, except it be some rajah's wives, that the Indian women burn at all, and those that do, obtain the liberty by costly presents and powerful applications to the governors; by which the women who are forced to survive their husbands by a superior authority, evade that ignominy and contempt which would otherwise be cast upon them. This foolish desire of dying with their husbands, is expressed by the poet in these verses Propertius *L. 3. Eleg. II.*

*Namque ubi mortifero jacta est fax ultima lecto  
Uxorum fulsis stat pia Turba comis:*

*Et certamen habent leti quæ viva sequatur  
 Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori,  
 Ardent victrices, & flammæ pectora proebent,  
 Imponuntque suis ora perusla viris.*

It is from this barbarous persuasion of a power they have of disposing of their own lives, and those that belong to them, that the Turquinese poison each year one of the fruits of the araguer, and gives it to a child to eat, imagining that by the death of that innocent child, they shall thrive the better the succeeding year. And indeed it is an unaccountable folly in the Indians to be so profligate of their own lives, and yet so sparing of the life of any the most insignificant living creature; as if the life of a man were of less consequence and consideration than that of a beast. The usefulness indeed of some brutes may gain them as esteem, and the kindness and fidelity of others, as of the dog Hircanus belonging to Iysimachus, who leapt, as we read, into the fire with the body of his dead master, and was burnt for company, and tyranny even to any creature argues a savage inhuman nature, but then it argues the pitch of stupidity and madness, for a man to destroy and cast away himself in a vain fit of fancy or of humour, who is by the dignity of his nature advanced so far above the rest of the animal world.

Though all the gentiles do for the most part consume the corpse of their dead by fire, yet some small tombs are seen here and there, where their bodies have been immured, but all of them very small and mean in respect of the rich and stately monuments erected by the principal Europeans near Surat. For the Bannians are not of the opinion of the Egyptian kings, who fancied that the souls after death were delighted to hover about their bodies, and to keep as intimate a correspondence with them as they could. the Bannians, I say, never dreamt this, and were not therefore solicitous for any stately receptacle for their bodies after death, as those monarchs were, who erected those stately pyramids, as palaces of their last repose, which neither the fury of the elements, nor the assaults of time were able to demolish; and where their souls might live with their bodies solitary and undisturbed, by the approach of any rude guest or vulgar spirit.



I think there is some reason for the pious opinion of the Indians, and that the Almighty displays an extraordinary power in our preservation.

From Balsera we received advice, in the year 1691, that two hundred thousand people, in eighteen days time, were taken away by a sweeping pestilence; but it soon abated its rage, and the violence of it shortened its continuance.

The common distemper that destroys the most in India, is fevers, which the Europeans with difficulty escape, especially if they have boiled up their spirits by a solemn repast, and been engaged in a strong debauch. Besides this, the mordechine is another disease of which some die, which is a violent vomiting and looseness, and is caused most frequently by an excess in eating, particularly of fish and flesh together. It has been cured by a red-hot iron claped to the heel of him that is sick, so close that it renders him uneasy by it nearness, whereby it leaves a scar behind it. Another distemper with which the Europeans are sometimes afflicted, is the barbeers, or a deprivation of the use and activity of their limbs, whereby they are rendered unable to move either hand or foot. This arises sometimes from the neglect of guarding the limbs from the cold vapours of the night, and securing them from the moistness of those nocturnal mists which are sometimes felt in these parts. And nothing contributes more to the recovery of the benumbed limbs, than frequenting the humbums, which are here in great plenty.

The general ease and cure which the white powder in India gives to fevers, makes that a very common and acceptable receipt there; and it has, with very good success, been administered in England, sent from thence by the Indian physicians. And all their medicines here are generally of the cooler sort, because of the heats to which the climate naturally inclines them.

Though theology is the proper profession of the Bramins, yet some of them are skilled in arithmetic, astrology, and physics; and make pretensions to the prediction of events, the calculation of nativities, and cure of diseases. But such as addict themselves to the practice of physics, are bound to pay an annual fine to the rest of their sect, because physics is both advantageous and foreign to their profession.

A Bramin, who had spent some years in studying the art of physics, was invited to visit an English gentlewoman, labouring under a chronical disease. who when he came desired a sight of her urine, and pouring it into a small china cup, he let fall upon it one drop of oil, upon which he made this remark in my presence. That if the oil sank to the bottom, it inevitably betokened death; the spreading of itself immediately upon the urine, prognosticated an increase of the distemper; but if slowly, and by little and little, an abatement of the disease

Cooling herbs, and congy, that is, water with rice boiled in it, and abstinence, are the best receipts they prescribe for mitigating intestine fervors of the spirits, and allaying the heat of the blood, which they think is better preserved and cooled within the veins, than let out, if it boils too fast.

I could never learn that our Indian physicians could pretend to that wonderful knowledge in the pulse, which those of China confidently boast of, and presume to so much skill in it, as to tell not only the term of a man's disease by it to a day or hour, but how many years, excepting violence and accident, a man in perfect health may live.

For astrology, and natural physics, the Indian Bramins account themselves however still very eminent and renowned, by which they foretell such distant occurrences, and effect such strong operations, as seem to men very wonderful and astonishing, and not to be done without some secret recourse to the invisible spirits, or familiarity with supernatural powers. We read the same of some excellent ancient philosophers, so learned in the works of nature, as thereby to point out the times both of eclipses in the planets, and commotions in the state, earthquakes and inundations, storms at sea, and plagues at land And that the reader may see that their extraordinary skill in magical operations is not yet vanished, I will here relate a story of them, which I remember was often publicly repeated by the last president at Surat, Bartholomew Harris, concerning a Bramin, in the time of the presidency of Mr. Aungers, who foretold the arrival of a certain English ship several months before she came to the harbour. President Aungers being under a disturbance of mind, and oppressed with some perplexed thoughts for want of intelligence from

England, was desired by the Bramin physician, who observed his grief, and the melancholy of his spirit, the reason of his concern and dejected looks, with a cheerful tender of his service, and willingness to administer to him in anything that might contribute to the removal of his malady, and to his cure. The president told him, that it was beyond the power of physics to heal his disease, or abate that distemper he laboured under; that no cordial could revive his thoughts, but news from England; or cheer his heart, except it were the sight of an English ship, which he had long expected, but now despaired of. *If an English ship then, says the Bramin, is your only cure, be pleased to give me leave to be absent for three or four days, and I question not by that time but to remove your trouble, and bring you undoubted news of that medicine you long for.* Upon which the president consented to his departure for that time, and withal promised him as an encouragement to his skill, a rich paramin, or Indian mantle, for a reward. Within four days the Bramin returns, and addressing himself to the president, assured him, that at such a time an English ship would arrive at Surat river's mouth, with such a particular person, who had formerly been in India, on board her; and that on such a particular day of the month he would arrive at the custom-house of Surat, before eleven in the morning. The president pleased with this assurance, and this confident relation of the Bramin, diverted himself with the thoughts of it for some time, and a little after rehearsed it jocularly at a public dinner to all the factors. The young men who heard this discourse, did some time after recollect with themselves, as they were walking down the banks of the river to enjoy the morning breeze, that this was the critical morning foretold by the Bramin, when an English ship should arrive, and such a particular person in her. The thoughts of it hastened them back again towards the custom-house, to enquire if there were any English news, and upon their return were surprised at the sight of an English boat, which they espied was rowing up the river; and were no sooner arrived at the custom-house, but they found the Englishman who had been expected in her. The news of this was very grateful to the president, and not ungrateful to the Bramin, who received a

curious paramin from the hands of the governor, whom he had obliged with so faithful and particular a prophetic relation.

And the worthy president Mr. Harris, who had himself been sometimes in distress for English news, has likewise told me of a Bramin's proposals to him, of bringing him undoubted intelligences how the company's affairs in England stood, within the space of four days. But that he durst not accept of the proposition, because he was confident that it depended upon the assistance of a familiar. And surely those sprightly beings can easily dispatch a very tedious voyage in a very short time. For if we only consider the nimble progress of light through the air, with what swiftness it darts its bright active atoms from East to West, and flies through the immense expanse from the lofty regions of the sky; we cannot with any great reason deny this same or greater power to the active spirits of darkness, who are striped of all the clogs of matter, and void of all material substance.

The Bannians are far from anything of severity, and not prone to the inflicting any corporal punishments, and have a perfect antipathy to those that are capital; but the ignominious punishment which they all sorely dread, is slipping; that is, when any person, who has been offended by a Bannian, takes off his slipper, spits upon it, and then strikes the Bannian with the sole of it. This is more detestable and abominated by them, than for any among us to spit or throw dirt in another's face; for it is not only esteemed the most heinous abuse, but the redemption of the affront is very costly, and the disgrace is not wiped off without difficulty and expense. This touching the Bannian with the sole of a slipper, is as unsufferable and odious in India, as touching with the hand the head of a Siamese; for that being the highest part of the body, is with them accounted of principal honour, and never to be stroked or touched without the greatest offence and affront. Insomuch that the king himself permits no person to dress his head, but is so far his own valet, that he puts the covering upon it himself.

This is the substance of what I thought might contribute to fill the account of the Bannians, of whom I have discoursed concerning their natural tempers, and religious opinions concerning their abstinence, and days of devotion; their diet and

ingenuity in their vocations; their attire and ornaments; their marriages; naming of their children, and their burials; and have concluded with a relation of some of the common diseases of India, and of the tedious plague at Surat. And shall now endeavour to entertain the reader with a description of the strange manners of the Indian faquirs near Surat, and with an account of the Parsis, and Hala!chors.

## THE FAQUIRS NEAR SURAT

T W O miles distant from Surat, is a very delightful place, named Pulparrock, adorned with pleasant walks and groves of trees, near the gentle streams of the river Tapti. The ground is all very even, except only near the banks of the river, where the rising hills enlarge the prospect upon the water. And the hot air is tempered by the shady walks under the spreading branches, and the nearness of the current of the water gliding by. For these religious santones here, as well as in Europe, are industrious in culling out the most delightful habitations in the country, and taking up their abode wherever either art or nature invite their residence by a commodious pleasant dwelling. For there is not any place near Surat, that yields either the beauty, or the delight that Pulparrock affords.

The original of these holy mendicants is ascribed, according to their account, to a certain prince named Ravana, who quarrelled with Ram, a knowing and victorious prince; and being conquered and deprived of all by a certain ape named Hanuman, or Hanneman, which was his assistant on earth, spent the remainder of his days in pilgrimage, and rambling, without any maintenance either to himself or his followers, but what was given them in charity. It was for the good services done to Ram in his lifetime by the apes, that they are in so great esteem both with the Moors and gentiles in the Indies; and this arch unlucky creature is in that repute among them all, that

they seriously declare, *Were the blood of one of them spilt upon the ground, the earth would suddenly become unfruitful, and the judgment upon it would be at least a year's famine.* And therefore when a large ape had broke loose from the English factory at Surat, and skipping to and fro had snatched away several things of value, and in his anger had hit a child or two so sorely, that they afterwards died of the wounds, (as it was reported,) yet was it an inexcusable crime at the same time for any violent hand to touch him.

These philosophical saints have since the first forming of their order, assumed a liberty of taking that by violence, which they find is denied their civil requests, and sometimes force a charity from the people, when entreaties cannot prevail, especially in the country villages. For their numbers render them imperious, and upon pretension of extraordinary sanctity, they commit a thousand villanies unbecoming their profession. They imitate the Romish orders in vows of piety and celibacy, and in their pretensions to a strange intimacy, and prevailing interest with heaven. Thus they endeavour to raise their veneration and respect; thus they acquire constant homage and address, daily applications, and large presents from the people. And some, by a seeming neglect of themselves, indulge their bodies, and pamper their ambition the more.

They are called *saquits* by the natives, but *ashmen* commonly by us, because of the abundance of ashes with which they powder their heads, and mix with their hair, which falls down sometimes to the middle of their backs. They use no pillahers to repose their heads on, but lay them unconcernedly upon the ground, where they gather a constant supply of dust and filth, which makes them (in their opinion) of a very becoming appearance, because it is squalid, but gives the ascetic or votary in our eyes a very disagreeable and sordid aspect.

Of this persuasion and kind of life, are several sorts both among the gentiles and the Moors; some of whom show their devotion by a shameless appearance, and walking naked, without the least rag of clothes to cover them. And even at mid and in the heart of the city, and places of chief concourse, they walk the streets, as shameless and unconcerned, as if were clothed all over. The constant sight of them in the city,

which offers itself at every turn, abates that hashfulness in the spectators, which such an immodesty might be apt to create, and diverts neither sex from their society, from a familiar conversation and intimacy with them; and custom has wore off all that coyness even in the women, which would be startled at such an immodest spectacle at first.

Others make solemn vows of continuance in such and such kind of postures all the days of their life, and will never move from them to alter them, though the pains are never so violent, which seem to be attended with so much torture, as would even force them to forbear. For these are penitentiaries in earnest, without any mask or possible appearance of deceit, and voluntarily mortify their limbs, and distort their joints to a perfect dislocation. For by the delusions of Satan, these infatuated votaries are possessed with a wretched opinion of making themselves unspeakably happy hereafter, by these insufferable torments here. And the enemy of mankind, impatient of delays in exercising his infernal cruelty, persuades them to undergo these torments which will end in making them meritorious saints, and that by these horrid punishments they may secure a future larger bliss.

Among these violent postures, some I observed with both their arms stretched out toward heaven continually, which they never let fall, and are therefore by long use grown so much into that position, that by long continuance it begins to grow natural, and without violence they cannot move them downward. The nails from their fingers too, are grown beyond the paws of any lion, into three or four inches length, (by an opinion which they have imbibed, like that of the emperor of Japan, who, after his coronation, is deterred from permitting either razor or scissors to come near his hair or nails,) upon a persuasion that it is a kind of sacrilege in those cases to cut them.

Others, as devout as these, gaze with their eyes continually toward heaven, by holding their faces directly upwards. They throw their heads so far backwards between their shoulders, that their eyes can never behold any other object but the stars and sky, whither with unwearied earnestness they look continually, delighted as it were with the pleasant sight of the blessed

regions above, and loath to cast their eyes upon any thing of this vile and wicked world. But before their eyes can be thus fixed, and their heads settled in this posture, the faquirs run through much uneasiness and trouble, molested both in the utterance of their words, and in receiving any food. And both those who extend their arms continually towards heaven, as if they were reaching at that place; and those whose eyes are constantly fixed upwards, are rendered thereby wholly unserviceable to themselves, and are therefore attended always by a servant or two, who administer to them in their necessities, and conduct the gazing saints to different places of abode.

Others there are with their right arm brought round the neck over the left shoulder, and the left arm over the right shoulder, and their fingers clasping one another before their breasts, with the palms of their hands turned outwards. This twists the arms, dislocates the shoulder bones, and therefore vexes the patient with inexpressible torments.

Some of the faquirs neither sit, nor even lie down, but constantly either walk or lean. They lean upon a small pillow, or quilt, laid upon a rope, which hangs down from the boughs of a tree, where the two ends are fastened above, and swing in that posture to and fro day and night. But when these faquirs prepare themselves to pray, they change this gesture, and fasten their feet in two ropes that hang down from the boughs of a tree, and with their heels upwards, and their heads down, as if they were ashamed to lift up their eyes to heaven, they pour out their powerful supplications. And from the prayers of these humble saints are expected to flow considerable blessings, and the prevention of many mischiefs.

Some of these devoted mendicants extend only one hand toward heaven, others turn only one arm round their shoulders. But they are all in singular esteem, and religiously resorted to by the vulgar; and by these distortions of their bodies they gain the repute of men of perfect hearts and of upright minds.

Besides these painful unnatural postures near Surat, a savage custom is still maintained by the gentiles near Carwar, in offering sacrifice to the God of Plenty, at the season of the growing corn. The Bramins at this time kill a cock, and make an oblation of his blood, as was usual with other heathens;



while the people that are concerned in it are struck with amazing horror and consternation, their faces are writhed, and their looks ghastly; their flesh creeps upon them, and their joints tremble; and to all men they appear frightful, as if they were possessed; and they own too, that the devil at that time inhabits them, and acquaints them with several strange things. After the sacrifice is past, six men, and an equal number of women, are appointed to perform a ceremony very dreadful. Upon each side of the backbone of the men are stuck two iron hooks into the flesh, by which they are lifted up to the top of a pole standing out like a gibbet, above 20 foot high. This gibbet is fastened to an engine with four wheels, which is drawn upon the ground above a mile, with the men hanging upon the tenters all the way. The women have each of them a sort of bason upon their heads, upon which are set six cups as large as tea cups, one upon another, with fire in each of them, which being very tottering, makes the women exceeding careful how they tread; lest if they slip, and thereby any cup falls, or the fire be shaken out of any, the woman forfeits her life, and is sentenced to immediate death. But if with care and dexterity they go through with the walk as far as the men, they then are safe, and the solemnity ceases. And notwithstanding all the tediousness of the passage, and the jogging of the carriage whereon they hang, which one would think would force the hooks to tear the flesh in pieces; yet will the men, poor miserable wretches! take swords and brandish them in their hands, as it were, in defiance of their torments all the way.

The faquirs resort sometimes together in great numbers, and live upon the spoil and alms of the country, as they pass in their pilgrimage. If they find the people unwilling to give, they audaciously demand, and that not in the humble strain for a pice or two, but saucily beg a rupee. One of these mendicants in a petulant humour, impudently requested from an English president, whom he met abroad, twenty rupees. The president to humour his forwardness and impudence, offered him nineteen, which he magnanimously refused, because he thought it unbecoming his greatness, to sink a farthing below his first demands.

Of these imperious godly beggars, I have seen an hundred (at least) of them in a company, seated under a shady grove of trees, rejoicing at a public entertainment, which was prepared by a leading man of their company. I observed that they drunk very freely of bhang, steeped in water, while I stood among them, whose intoxicating quality is very apt to disturb the brain. Which made me enquire whether such jovial meetings were not apt to end in madness and quarrels; and the excess of that liquor, by kindling an unruly heat, disturb their spirits, and convert their friendly meetings into feuds and discords, and mischievous debates? To which they answered, that they took care of preserving peace and amity, and as much decency and order at these times of mirth, as at their ordinary meetings; for which end, they chose a number from among themselves, who were totally debarred from drinking, and were censors upon others, to inspect their carriage, and interpose in their disputes, to restrain them from all exorbitant mirth, and excessive drinking.

Besides the Moors and the Bannians, and these saquars, which belong to both professions, the Persies are a sect very considerable in India, of whom the tradition is, that coming from Persia in a tempest, at the time that Mahomet and his followers gave laws to the Persians, (which they were unwilling to submit to) they were driven to that distress, that they almost despaired of life, till hearing a cock crow, and espying fire at land, they recovered their hopes of safety, and gained a speedy arrival. The cock therefore is as much esteemed by them, as the cow is by the Bannians, of the lives of both which, they are the zealous patrons and protectors. For the worshipping of fire seems to be the ancientest instance of idolatry in the world, inasmuch (as some think) that Cain, after he was banished from the presence of the Lord, turned a downright idolater, and then introduced the worship of the sun, as the best resemblance he could find of the glory of the Lord, which was wont to appear in a flaming light. And in after-times, they worshipped fire in the eastern countries, as the best emblem of the sun, when it was absent. Nor was the vestal fire ever more sacred, than all other fires are with the Persies, the extinction of which, if it is voluntary, is a crime as heinous, as if the vital heat of the

cock, or some other beloved animal were destroyed, so that if their houses were on fire, they would sooner be persuaded to pour on oil to increase, than water to assuage the flame. If a candle is once lighted, they would judge the breath of him more than pestilential, that durst attempt to blow it out. And a Persi servant, who is commanded to bring a hot steel, and warm with it a bowl of punch, will plead his excuse, and that he dare not hasten the coolness of the steel by a violent abatement of the heat. The active flame must be allowed to live, whilst there is any fuel for it to feed on, if the fire is once kindled, all care is taken that it comes to a natural expiration, and no violence allowed to bring it to a period sooner. Another account we have for their respect of fire, is, that their great law-giver, Zertoost, was taken into heaven, and brought from thence fire with him (Prometbeus like) which he commanded his followers afterwards to worship.

They have other fables concerning Abraham, that he was once in the devil's power, who exposed him to the flames, but the kind fire would not fasten on him, from which they infer the great unreasonableness of destroying that element, which was so averse, (notwithstanding all its fury) from hurting Abraham their friend; the reason of this may be, because that Abraham came from the land of Ur, which signifies fire, which might give the occasion for the fable of his escaping the fire.

They own and adore one Supreme Being, to whom, as he is the original of all things, they dedicate the first day of every month, in a solemn observance of his worship. And enjoin, besides these, some others for the celebration of public prayers.

At their solemn festivals, whither an hundred or two sometimes resort, in the suburbs of the city, each man according to his fancy and ability, brings with him his victuals, which is equally distributed, and eat in common by all that are present. For they show a firm affection to all of their own sentiments in religion, assist the poor, and are very ready to provide for the sustenance and comfort of such as want it. Their universal kindness, either in employing such as are needy and able to work, or bestowing a seasonable bounteous charity to such as are infirm and miserable; leave no man destitute of relief, nor suffer a beggar in all their tribe; and herein so far comply with

that excellent rule of Pythagoras, *to enjoy a kind of community among friends.*

These Persies are by another name termed Gaures, or worshippers of fire, because of their veneration for that element; and were transported into India, when Calyf Omar reduced the kingdom of Persia, under the power of the Mahometans, and they profess the ancient religion of the Persians. But their religion spread itself more westerly, it seems than Persia; for the Babylonians, who by their religious discipline, were engaged to the worshipping the sun, did likewise under the names of Nego, and Shaca, adore the fire and the earth. And the parents of Gregory Nazianzene, who was born in the fourth century at Arianzum, an obscure village belonging to Nazianzum, a town of the second Cappadocia, were of a mixed religion made up of Judaism and Paganism, or rather some select rites of both; for with the gentiles they did honour to fire and burning lights, but rejected idols and sacrifices; and with the Jews they observed the Sabbath. But I believe what remains of this caste, are most of them in the kingdom of the Great Mogul. But we read of some in Persia of great antiquity. For near Yesd in the province of Ayrack, (or Hierack Agem) which yields the richest and fairest tapestries of all Persia, and of the world; and on the mountain Albors, there are yet some worshippers of fire, who are said to have used it above 3,000 years.

They are not quite so abstemious in their diet as the Bannians, but superstitiously refuse to drink after any stranger, out of the same cup. Some Hindoos will eat of one kind of flesh, some of another, but all refrain from beef, out of respect to line.

In their callings they are very industrious and diligent, and careful to train up their children to arts and labour. They are the principal men at the loom in all the country, and most of the silks and stuffs at Surat, are made by their hands. The high-priest of the Persies is called Destoor, their ordinary priests Daroos, or Harboods.

I shall not mention their marriages, which much resemble the manner of the Bannians, but proceed only to a description of their way of burying, which is this. The noblest sepulture which they fancy they can bestow upon their deceased

friends, is exposing them to be devoured by the fowls of the air, and bestowing their carcasses on the birds of prey. After the body is for some time dead, the Halalchors (which are a sort of sordid Indians) take and carry it out upon a bier into the open fields, near the place where it is exposed to the fowls of heaven. When it is there decently deposited upon the ground, a particular friend beats the fields and neighbouring villages, upon the hunt for a dog, till he can find one out; and having had the good luck to meet him, he cherishes and entices him with a cake of bread, which he carries in his hand for that purpose, till he draws him as near the corpse as he is able; for the nearer the dog is brought to the dead body, the nearer are its approaches to felicity. And if the hungry cur can by bits of cake be brought so nigh the deceased, as to come up to him, and take a piece out of his mouth, it is then an unquestionable sign, that the condition he died in was very happy, but if the timorous dog startles at the sight, or loaths the object, or being lately well fed, has no stomach to that ordinary morsel, which he must snatch out of the dead man's jaws, the case then with him is desperate, and his state deplorable. The poor man whom I saw, was by these prognostics, very miserable, for the sturdy cur would by no means be enticed to any distance near him. When the dog has finished his part of the ceremony, two Daroos, at a furlong's distance from the bier, stand up with joined hands, and loudly repeat for near half an hour, a tedious form of prayer by heart; but with such a quick dispatch, that they scarce drew breath all the while, as if they had been under some invincible necessity of running over the words in such a time. All the while they were thus gabbling, a piece of white paper fastened to each ear, overthwart the face, hung down two or three inches below the chin; and as soon as they had ended their petitions, the Halalchors took up the corpse, and conveyed it to the repository, which was near; all the company ranking themselves by two and two, and following it with joined hands. The place of sepulture is in the open fields, within a wall built in form of a circle, about twelve foot high, and about an hundred in the circumference, in the middle of which was a door of stone about six foot from the ground, which was opened to admit the corpse. The ground within the walls is raised above

four foot, and made shelving towards the centre, that the filth and moisture which are drained continually from the carcasses, may by an easy passage descend into a sink made in the middle to receive them. The corpse therefore was left here, and all the company departing thence, betook themselves to a rivulet that run near the place for ablution, to cleanse themselves from what defilements, on this melancholy occasion, they might have contracted; and retired afterwards to their proper habitations in the city, from whence this place is distant about a mile. But within the space of a day or two after, some of the nearest relatives return again hither, to observe which of the eyes of their deceased friend was first picked out by the hungry vultures; and if they find that the right eye was first seized on, this abodes undoubted happiness; if the left, they then are sorrowful, for that is a direful sign of his misery.

The Persics are very nice in the preservation of their hair, and careful to preserve whatever is cut off their heads or beards, that nothing of it be lost or carelessly thrown about, but once a year be decently laid in their burying place. A description of which, though it be dressed with nothing but horror, yet may here properly be inserted.

The burying-place of the Persies is an object the most dreadful, and of the most horrid prospect in the world, and much more frightful than a field of slaughtered men. It contains a number of carcasses of very different disagreeable colours and aspects. Some are seen there bleeding fresh, but so torn by the vultures that crowd upon the walls, that their faces resemble that of a death's head, with the eyeballs out, and all the flesh upon the cheeks picked off. And on the fleshy part of the body, where the ravenous bird tasted a more delicious morsel, are eaten several large holes, and all the skin on every part is mangled, and torn by the sharp beaks of these devouring creatures. Here was a leg, and there an arm, here lay half, and there the quarter of a man. Some looked as if they were partly jelly, others were hardened like tanned leather, by the various operations of the sun and weather upon them; here lay one picked as clean as a skeleton, near that, another with the skin in some parts green, in others yellow, and the whole so discoloured, as if all within were putrefaction. A sight terrible enough almost to frighten an

hungry vulture from his prey. But these birds are most delighted with these dismal objects, and that noisome smell which evaporates from the dead corpse affords a pleasant odour to their senses. The stench of the bodies is intolerable, and of malignity sufficient to strike any man dead that would endure it; and yet the vultures choose to sit to the leeward upon the wall, luxuriously to suck up and indulge their smell with these deadly foul vapours. Some of these gluttoned birds were so cloyed and crammed with human flesh, that they seemed scarce able to take wing, and the feathers of others were much moulted away, by this kind of rank feeding.

Besides this manner of burying, in use with the Persies, near Surat, there are other eastern nations who have peculiarly affected the entombing their dead bodies in animals. The inhabitants of Pegu reckon him happy, whose fate it is to be devoured by a crocodile. And the natives formerly, near the mouth of Ganges, if weary of this life by sickness or old age, committed themselves to be devoured by the dog-fish, as the safest passage to their future felicity.

The Halalchors, (whom I occasionally mentioned a little before) are another sort of Indians at Surat, the most contemptible, but extremely necessary to be there. They are termed Halalchors, by the Moors and Indians, in the Persian language, which signifies eat-alls, or eaters at large. They will indulge themselves with wine, as well as drink water; they eat all kinds of fish or flesh, and without any scruple of conscience or of appetite, will feed upon either horse or cow, and will satisfy their stomachs as well with a piece of carrion out of a ditch, as with the freshest meat that can be bought in the bazar. These are the persons employed in sweeping the houses, and cleaning the streets, in carrying away the dirt and dung, in washing the dead bodies, and conveying them to their proper places of sepulture, which makes them absolutely necessary in these parts, because such employments as these are an abomination to the Moors and defile the Bannians, and are only engaged in by these poor people, who for this reason are accounted vile and mean, the most abject and scandalous of all the inhabitants of Surat. One of the greatest marks of ignominy, when any person is reflected on, is to be called Halalchor.

Yet these despicable persons take all in good part, cringe and bow to all they pass by, eat whatever is offered them from any hand, and go through with their drudgery without noise and concern. The Halalchor industriously avoids the touching of any person for fear of offence; he is separated from all the rest of the castes, as a thing unclean; for if he happens to come too near a Bannian, he defiles him by his touch, and puts him to the trouble of some purification, to wash off the defilement he contracted upon it. Therefore are they shunned by all, and endeavour to keep at a distance from all.

I have now finished my discourse of the city and inhabitants of Surat, of its government and trade, and of the customs and religion; the language, arts and recreations of the natives; with a particular account of the mendicant friars, or faquirs, of the Persies and Halalchors, and shall conclude all my thoughts of India, in a brief description of the English factory at Surat, and of the troubles which happened to the English while I was there.

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH FACTORY AT SURAT

THE English East-India Company (from an account we have of it in a pamphlet concerning their trade) are at the annual expense of one hundred thousand pounds. For they esteem it necessary, as well for the honour of the English nation, as facilitating of their traffic, to maintain their principal servants in India, not only in decency, but splendour, as is visible to any that has travelled either to Surat, or the Fort of St. George, to Gombroon in Persia, or Bengal. These are the chief places of note and trade, where their presidents and agents reside, for the support of whom, with their writers and factors, large privileges and salaries are allowed.



The several parts of India have each their peculiar commodities proper to them, which are bought up, and made ready by the company's servants, to load upon their ships at their arrival. And were not the English constantly upon this account kept in those parts, the other European nations would soon fill up all our vacant factories, and so monopolize the Indian trade, that not only the spice islands would be their darling propriety, but all Indian commodities as well as spices, silks, calicoes, drugs, precious stones, &c. should (within a while) be apt to bear what rates in Europe they thought fit to lay upon them. For accomplishing which design, some people have already some time ago, proffered to the Great Mogul the advancement of his customs at Surat, to a much higher rate than now they are at, upon condition of establishing that entire trade upon them. And both by large presents, and by raising of the price of pepper upon the coast of Malabar, they have indefatigably endeavoured a total subversion of our trade therein among the natives. Therefore the continuance of factors in India by a company, seems very necessary and just; and were this practice once withdrawn, the Indian trade to England, would probably soon be removed too. For other means would soon be projected for accomplishing what bribes and presents to the Mogul and his officers could not effect, by which those that secured the trade for themselves, would soon find a way of stopping all traffic from the Indies, but what came through their hands. Therefore are our presidents obliged continually to watch their motions in India, and observe their designs, to countermine their projects, and gratify not only the Mogul now and then, with grateful gifts, but likewise to be always upon the same method with the omrahs and favourites at court, engaging a continuance of their favours

This makes those that are concerned in the trade of India think fit, that this necessary expense of factors for continuance of the Indian trade to England, should be recompensed with some public privileges for its support. And that therefore the private advantage which grows from this great care and cost, should not easily be checked and discouraged, especially considering likewise that the securing the traffic in the power of the English from foreign designers, contributes not a little

to the common good, especially if thereby their ships be enabled to come home in good fleets, as the Dutch do, which would thereby the better secure them from the common enemy the French, that they might not be so easily seized to the public damage of the nation.

The house provided for the entertainment of the English at Surat belongs to the Mogul, and is fitted with the best accommodations of any in the city. It is situated in the north-west part of it, and is able to give convenient lodgings to forty persons, besides several decent apartments to the president. Our landlord Aurengzebe is extreme kind and liberal in permitting us to expend the rent, which is 60 l. Yearly, either in beautifying, repairing, or in additional rooms to the house, so that he seldom receives much rent from us. It is built with the convenience of several cellars, and warehouses, of a tank of water, and an humhum

The president of the northern parts of India resides here, who is dignified frequently with the government of Bombay, and invested with the title of honourable. A few years stay here has raised several of the presidents to plentiful estates, who besides their salaries, which is 300 per an. and several advantages by the ships, are permitted a free trade to all the parts of the east. This is indulged likewise to all the company's servants of what station soever, which is a favour attended with considerable benefit, suits well with the freedom of an English subject, and is a profitable blessing for which the Dutch factors are earnest supplicants, and from which they are very strictly restrained.

The accountant succeeds the president, next to him is the storekeeper, and to him the purser marine. These four constitute the council, among whom the president has a double vote; and all cases and affairs relating to the company, or their servants, are debated and determined by them.

The secretary, though none of the council, yet always attends their orders and consultations, and stands candidate for the first vacancy among them, to which all are gradually advanced according to the seniority of their time or station; except the authority of the company interposes in their earlier exaltation, which they seldom attempt, because as the other method is most equitable, so they find it most suitable to their affairs and interest.

The chaplain, who is respected as third in the factory, the senior and junior factors, the writers and apprentices make up the rest. These all remain in their various stations, for three or five years, or as many as they and the company have agreed upon at their first coming out, before they rise to new degrees, as from apprentice to writer, from writer to factor. And every step they take in promotion, the company raises their salary, and allows them some new privilege. They all have given to them their diet and lodging gratis by the company, besides wages. and the advantageous liberty of traffic to all parts, wherein from China to Surat, they commonly make cent per cent; they can sometimes make 50 per cent from thence. if they only carry out silver and bring home gold: And those among them that are persons of credit and esteem. but of small fortunes. may borrow from the Bannians money for China at 25 per cent and that only to be paid upon the safe arrival of the ship. which if it miscarries in the voyage, they are exempt from all damage. To some parts their gains amount to more. to some they are less, according to the distance of ports, and opportunities of trade.

For dispatching of the company's affairs, and attending on the president and council, there are kept always in the company's pay, forty or fifty peons, who wait daily upon the president in the morning, that they may receive his commands for the service of the day, and appear before him in a body in the evening, to pay him their homage, who then (at his pleasure) with a nod dismisses them to their homes in the city. Besides these, the president is allowed for his personal attendance several others, the accountant or second is allowed two, the minister, and the rest of the council, and the secretary. each of them one.

The whole business and concern of all is zealously to promote the honour and interest of the company's affairs, in maintaining their reputation, and vending their commodities at as high rates, and buying for them others at as low as they can.

The president and all the rest of the society are paid their salaries once a year; the second 120 l. the senior factors who are of the council, 40 l. the junior factors 15 l. the writers 7 l. Besides which, the council and secretary have several advantageous perquisites belonging to their places. The peons receive

their wages every month, which are four rupces to each, and 1x to their captain. At the beginning of the month they give heir attendance, and respect; address themselves first to the noon, and then to the president, who then appoints the steward to discharge their accounts.

Lest anything of value might be lost in the factory, through this multitude of peons who are called to their service there continually, the butlers are enjoined to take an account of the plate each night before they depart home, that they might be examined before they stir, if ought be wanting. But their honesty is our security from being damaged by any theft, which has not been charged upon them in the factory these many years: Nay, such is the approved honesty and fidelity of these servants to our affairs, that whenever the president designs to run the custom of a considerable sum of gold or silver, he commits the secret to some of these peons, who manage it dextrously, and are faithful to a rupee.

Without liberty from the president, none are permitted to leave the factory, to lie abroad, or depart into the country; and the porter who attends the gate both day and night, keeps all from entering into our precincts, whose admittance he judges may not be proper. But each Thursday night he craves leave of going home, because he is a Moorman and married, and he fears that the neglecting a visit to his wife for more than a week, might give an occasion of complaint. Therefore on this night the poor men that beg in the streets commonly do it in the prevailing style of jimroot sab, jimroot sab, intimating as much as, *sir*, since this is Thursday night, let me (I pray you) partake something of your bounty, as a means the better to enable my kindness to my wife.

Each day there is prepared a public table for the use of the president and the rest of the factory, who sit all down in a public place according to their seniority in the company's service. The table is spread with the choicest meat Surat affords, or the country thereabouts; and equal plenty of generous sherash wine, and arak punch, is served round the table. Several hundreds a year are expended upon their daily provisions which are sumptuous enough for the entertainment of any person of eminence in the kingdom; and which require two or three

cooks, and as many butchers to dress and prepare them. But Europe wines and English beer, because of their former acquaintance with our palates, are most coveted and most desirable liquors, and though sold at high rates, are yet purchased and drunk with pleasure. A wealthy Indian who was curious to see our manner of eating, and desirous to please himself with the pride of our entertainments, was strangely amazed and surprised at the opening of a bottle of bottled drink, when he saw it froth and fly about. The president asked him what it was that struck him with such admiration? which was not, he told him, the sight of the drink flying out of the bottle, but how such liquor could ever be put in.

The president and council only meet at supper, for the maintenance of a friendly correspondence, and to discourse of the company's business, and prevent all jealousies and animosities which might obstruct the public affairs from that progress, which a joint unanimous affection might carry them on with. For the current of the common interest has been sometimes very much lessened and diverted by the unhappy intervention of private misunderstandings and quarrels. And though it has been a repeated contrivance of some leading men, to play their servants in India one against another, and to set them as spies of each other's actions, yet I am sure the public affairs have suffered when the design has been unmasked, and the jealous eye has been awaked. For nothing vexes a man of honour, and who is conscious of his own integrity more, than to find himself suspected of dishonesty, and designs laid by those to intrap him in his actions, who have the least reason in the world to distrust his fidelity.

Both before and after meals, a peon appointed for that purpose, attends with a large silver ewer and bason, for those that sit down to wash their hands; which at both times is a decency in all places, but here necessary, because of the heat and dust which are so very troublesome. All the dishes and plates brought to the table are of pure silver, massy and substantial; and such are also the tosses or cups out of which we drink. And that nothing may be wanting to please the curiosity of every palate at the times of eating, an English, Portuguese, and an Indian cook, are all entertained to dress the meat in different

ways for the gratification of every stomach. Palau, that is rice boiled so artificially, that every grain lies singly without being clodded together, with spices intermixed, and a boiled fowl in the middle, is the most common Indian dish; and a dumpoked fowl, that is, boiled with butter in any small vessel, and stuffed with raisons and almonds, is another. Cabob, that is, beef or mutton cut into small pieces, sprinkled with salt and pepper, and dipped with oil and garlic, which have been mixed together in a dish, and then roasted on a spit, with sweet herbs put between every piece, and stuffed in them, and basted with oil and garlic all the while, is another Indian savoury dish. Bamboo and mango achar, souy the choicest of all sauces, are always ready to whet the appetite. The natives at Surat are much taken with *Assa Foetida*, which they call hin, and mix a little of it with the cakes that they eat, which though very unpalatable and unsavoury, yet because they esteem it beyond all things healthful, the English are tempted sometimes to taste it. The whole city sometimes smells very strong of the nauseating vapours which flow from that abundance that is eat in it.

Upon Sundays and public days, the entertainments keep up a face of more solemnity, and are made more large and splendid, deer and antilopes, peacocks, hares, partridges, and all kind of Persian fruits, pistachioes, plumbs, apricocks, cherries, &c. are all provided upon high festivals; and European as well as Persian wines are drunk with temperance and alacrity. Then the king's health, and afterwards that of the company's, are sent round the table to the lowest writer that sits down. When the banquet is past, they generally divert themselves for a while with some innocent easy recreation.

The president upon solemn days generally invites the whole factory abroad to some pleasant garden adjacent to the city, where they may sit shaded from the beams of the sun, and refreshed by the neighbourhood of tanks and waterworks. The president and his lady are brought hither in palanquins, supported each of them by six peons, which carry them by four at once on their shoulders. Before him at a little distance, are carried two large flags, or English ensigns, with curious Persian or Arabian horses of state, which are of great value, rich in their trappings, and gallantly equipped that are led before him.

The furniture of these, and several other horses, whereon the factors ride, is very costly; the saddles are all of velvet richly embroidered, the headstalls, reins, and croupers are all covered with solid wrought silver. The captain of the peons at this time ascends his horse, and leads forty or fifty others after him, which attend the president on foot. Next the president follow the council in large coaches, all open, except their wives are in them; the several knobs about them are all covered with silver, and they are drawn by a pair of stately oxen. After them succeed the rest of the factors, either in coaches, or hackeries, or upon horses, which are kept by the company to accommodate their president, and people at these times, or whenever they fancy to take the air. In this pompous procession does the president, when he goes abroad, travel through the heart of the city.

The evenings and the mornings being allayed with moderate breezes, and cool and temperate in respect of the heat when the sun is at the height, invite the factors daily almost to the groves or gardens near the water side, there to spend an hour or two with a bottle of wine, and cold collation which they carry with them. And neither the chaplain nor any of the council stir without the walls of the city without the attendance of four or five peons upon the coach. This creates a respect from the natives as they pass along, strikes them with a regard to the English whenever they meet them; makes them value our friendship, and place an honour in our intimacy and acquaintance. The probity and grandeur of the English living hath formerly raised the presidency of Surat to that veneration and esteem, among the native inhabitants, that it has eclipsed the greatness of their own government, by encouraging the injured and distressed Indians, to apply themselves for relief, rather to our president, than their governor.

The factors when they eat at home, do it after the English manner, but abroad they imitate the customs of the east in lying round the banquet upon the Persian carpets which are spread upon the ground, twenty or thirty foot in length.

For the buying and more advantageous disposing of the company's goods, there are brokers appointed, who are of the Bannian caste, skilled in the rates and value of all the commodities in India. To these is allowed three per cent for their

care and trouble. And once a year, which is their grand festival season, called the Dually (Diwali) time, they have a custom, much like that of our new-year's-gifts, of presenting the president and council, the minister, surgeon, and all the factors and writers with something valuable, either in jewels or plate, atlases, or other silks, according to the respect which they owe to every man's station. Whereby the young factors besides their salaries, diet and lodgings, are supplied likewise with clothes sufficient for their service a great part of the year. Which things prevent their necessity of any great annual expense, and happily contribute towards giving them a life of delight and ease. Besides these gratuities, the minister and surgeon seldom fail of the president's bounty at the Christmas season; and whenever there is occasion for either of their services, they commonly meet with very liberal returns.

If either a disease, or any unlucky casualties should happen to any in the factory, the president has provided an Indian doctor of physic, and an English surgeon to take care of them. The surgeon, whose salary is about forty pounds a year, gains considerably too by his outward practice and traffic. And whatever medicinal drugs, or unguents, balsoms, or spirits are thought necessary for prevention or healing of diseases and sores, they are presently acquired, and charged upon the company's account; that their factors might in all things be nicely taken care of, and not destitute of anything for the support of either life or health.

And that their souls might not be neglected amidst all this affluence and ease, and care of their bodies, there is a stated salary of an hundred pounds a year appointed for a minister, with diet and convenient lodgings, a peon to attend him in his chamber, and the command of a coach, or horse, at any time he thinks fit to use them. Besides many private gifts from merchants and masters of ships, who seldom fail of some valuable oblation to him, or rarity of the place they come from, and the noble large gratuities which he constantly receives for officiating at marriages, baptisms, and burials. And that nothing might be wanting to the making of either his life happy, or his function venerable, he is enjoined from all a civil deference and deportment, and a precedence next to the second in



the factory. And indeed such is the constant obliging carriage of all to a man of his character, that were he the principal man of the province, or primate of Indostan, he could not wish for more respect.

The minister is obliged to a public discourse once, and public prayers thrice on Sunday, and to read prayers morning and evening in the chapel, each other day on the week, viz about six in the morning, before the factors are called forth to business, and at eight at night, when all is past. He is engaged to catechize all the youth; to visit the subordinate factories upon the coast of Malabar, at Carwar, Calicut, Ruttera, &c. and to give instructions for their administration of divine service in his absence.

The chapel, where they meet at prayers, is within the factory, decently embellished, so as to render it both neat and solemn, without the figure of any living creature in it, for avoiding all occasion of offence to the Moors, who are well pleased with the innocence of our worship.

For want of a minister qualified for the administration of baptism among the Dutch at Surat, they request that favour from the English, who performs it for them in their chapel; which at first sight might be very well taken for a guard-chamber, because they keep their arms in it.

The English and all the Europeans are privileged with convenient repositories for their dead, within half a mile of the city. There they endeavour to outvie each other in magnificent structures and stately monuments, whose large extent, beautiful architecture, and aspiring heads, make them visible at a remote distance, lovely objects of the sight, and give them the title of the principal ornaments and magnificencies about the city. The two most celebrated fabrics among the English, set off with stately towers and minarets, are that which was erected for Sir John Oxonton, and the other for the renowned and honourable president Aungers. The two most noted among the Dutch, is one, a noble pile raised over the body of the Dutch commissary, who died about three years ago; and another less stately, but more famed, built by the order of a jovial Dutch commander, with three large punch-bowls upon the top of it, for the entertainment and mirth of his surviving friends, who remember him there sometimes so much, that they quite forget themselves.

Lest all the care and instruction of a minister might be unavailable for reclaiming the dissolute and refractory among the English, the company have interposed their own authority, and published their orders and injunctions in these following words.

The governor, deputy, and committees of the East-India Company, having been informed of the disorderly and unchristian conversation of some of their factors and servants in the parts of India, tending to the dishonour of God, the discredit of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and scandal of the English nation; and being desirous, as much as in them lies, for the future to prevent the like, and reduce all their people in their several factories and colonies, not only to a civil, but also to a religious and pious comportment, that may render our nation honourable, and the religion we profess amiable in the sight of those heathens, among whom they reside: Have thought fit to require and enjoin a strict observation of the ensuing rules and orders, to which they do expect from all their factors and servants a due compliance.

Then after some rules enjoining a strict observance of Sundays, and of public and private prayers, this follows.

That the agents and chiefs in their several factories, take care to prevent all profane swearing, and taking the name of God in vain by cursed oaths; all drunkenness and intemperance, all fornication and uncleanness; and that if any will not be reformed, and do not abstain from these vices, but after admonition and reprehension, shall be found faulty again, that then such punishment shall be inflicted on them, consisting with the laws of God and this kingdom, as the agent and council shall find their crime to deserve. And that if after such punishment inflicted, he or they will not amend, or be reformed, then the agent is strictly enjoined and required, to send home for England by the next ships, such person or persons so unreclaimable, that they may not remain in India, to the dishonour of God, the scandal of religion, the discredit of our nation, and perverting of others.

And that both the company and their servants may be constantly blessed with the favours of heaven upon them in their respective stations, therefore they have ordered a form of prayer

of their command: All which things might justly plead the innocence of the English, excuse their payment of any money, and give them therefore a release. But the exasperated Turks, and the violent Abdel Gbeford prevailed for a closer confinement of us, not only to the walls of the factory, but our very chambers, had not the vigilant industry of our president opportunely repealed that severe decree. Our enemies, likewise, incessantly urged the governor to menace and disturb our president, that he might be thereby wrought upon to their designs. To which the sage governor mildly replied, That he knew Mr. Harris too well, to value any threatenings which were injurious to the company's interest or honour; and that though he suffered much, he would endure much more, rather than yield to an unjust compliance.

The enraged Turks finding their machines would not work, and that they could get no ground upon us this way, began now to threaten our lives, because the loss of our liberty did not appease them, so much that the governor as he formerly set a guard upon us to shut us in, now increases it to keep our enemies out.

In the meantime, the providence of God so contrived for our innocence, that the Turks began to clash among themselves, and heated with some private dissensions, became their own accusers. For some of them came to Dungevora, a famous Persy merchant, and friend to the English, and informed him that all their allegations against us were built upon falsehood and malice, and their charge was all a contrived design, in as much as they were all satisfied in their own minds, that the pirates were Danes, and not English. But this they durst not discover to the governor, for fear of a public examination, which if they submitted to, their lives would be exposed to the fury of the rest of the confederates. Neither durst we encourage them with any present of money to proceed in their depositions, lest we should find it a stratagem of theirs. thereby to ensnare us

November the 1st arrived a pattamar or courier, from our fakeel, or solicitor at court, acquainting us that the Mogul had news from the Danes themselves, of their taking and plundering the Moor ship, and that they resolved upon a

continued enmity to the Moors, till their demands were fully satisfied for the injuries which they formerly sustained from them. The letter was directed to Isi Cooly, principal of the Armenian merchants at court, who by making a noise, which is the method for obtaining audience, was called upon by the Mogul, to read his letter upon a public court day.

This brought down the Mogul's letters to the governor, requiring a speedy respect and civility to the English, with a permission and encouragement of trade. But the pishcasies or presents expected by the nabobs and omrahs retarded our enlargement for some time notwithstanding. For the strong contest and application which was made for the government of Surat, which was then said to be disposed of, put a stop to the emperor's more absolute determinations. The Mogul's resolution of continuing the present governor, frustrated all the court interests for themselves, which moved Salabet Chan, a bosom favourite, to waive the solicitations he had begun for his son, and end them for the governor. For he designed to send his son to Surat, invested with the command of the city, and the messenger of this welcome news to us, which would render him thereupon more acceptable to the English nation, and would be apt to gain him some costly present from us at his entrance upon his authority.

Therefore December the 2d in the evening word was brought by the brokers to our president, of a cossei's arrival with letters from court to the Vicnavish, enjoining our immediate release, and the day following the choeadars or soldiers, were removed from before our gates.

Shcah Jemme, a brave and hearty Arab, who had all along wished prosperity to our affairs, was so transported at the hearing of our enlargement, that he gave to the president's peon, who carried him the news of it, a rich flowered coat. And when this generous Arab was called upon by one of the mullahs or priests, and authoritatively demanded why he would countenance the casrics, or unbelievers, meaning us, against the Musoulmen, or true believers? Bravely answered that it was his principle to encourage truth wherever he found it, and thut he knew the English innocent of the fact, which the Turks insisted upon against them. That none were so much casrics, in

## THE CITY OF MUSCATT IN ARABIA FELIX

MUSCATT is a city in Arabia Felix, which lies to the eastward of that kingdom, situated upon the Persian Gulf. Though none of the Arabia's are equally fruitful as many other parts of the world that are less famed, yet this part of Arabia, because of its pleasantness and fertility, in respect of the other two, has obtained the name of Hyaman, which signifies happy. For besides the great increase of cattle which is here to be seen; the soil in some places is rich and fruitful, and corn and wine, fruits and fragrant spices are produced in great plenty. It abounds with many useful and beneficial commodities, with several kinds of drugs, with balsom and myrrhe, incense, cassia, manna, dates, gold, frankincense and pearl, and maintains a constant trade of rare and valuable goods to Persia, Egypt, Syria, the Indies, &c. And Muscatt above all those places which are situated near the Gulf of Ormus, is the principal town of traffic between the East, and that part of Arabia the Happy; only at one season of the year, which is in June, July and August, the pearl-fishing of the Island Baharem, which lies higher up in the Gulf, renders that place of more note and fame, yielding to the Persian emperor yearly, the value of five hundred thousand ducats, besides one hundred thousand more, which are supposed to be diverted.

Muscatt is situate between the Capes of Raz al-Gate and Moccandon in 23 degrees, 30 min. North latitude, exactly under the tropic of cancer. It is about three miles in its circumference, built at the bottom of a small bay, encompassed with high rocky mountains, and guarded with a strong wall. Besides it is fortified with five or six castles and batteries, and lies very convenient for trade by its nearness to a safe harbour.

Though this city lies at the utmost bounds of the sun's progress towards the north, yet it is infested with a more intense heat than several places that are nearer the line. The desert ground and high mountains reflect the warm rays of the sun with so much vigour, that it may as justly challenge a title to

the name of the torrid zone, as any place between the tropics; for some would persuade us that it has a title to the most literal meaning of these words, and that a small fish laid in the hollow part of a rock, where the sunbeams reflect from every side, in the heat of the day, and when the sun is in the zenith, will be half roasted in a little time by the heat. It rains here but seldom, and in some places of Arabia, not above twice or thrice in two or three years; but the abundance of dew which falls at night refreshes the ground, supplies the herbs with moisture, and makes the fruits excellent.

The Muscatters (for the most part) are lean, and of a middle stature, very swarthy in their complexion, and not of very strong voice. They are stout and manly, and expert at the bow and dart, and since their engagement in the war with the Portuguese, are excellent marksmen, and very dexterous and ready in the exercise of fire-arms, in which they employ always some part of the day.

The ground yields them variety of excellent fruits, as oranges, lemons, citrons, grapes, apricocks and peaches, and most sorts of roots and green herbs: But the staple commodity of the country is dates, of which there are whole orchards of some miles together. They have so much plenty of this fruit, for which they have so ready a vent in India, that several ships are sent thither loaded from hence without any other cargo.

The hills are generally all sterile and bare, and he that takes only a prospect of them would conclude the land quite uninhabitable, and unable to afford either sustenance for man or nourishment for beast. For the soil there languishes for want of moisture, and the ground is dried up like a barren wilderness; the earth brings forth neither grass nor flowers, nor trees with either leaves or fruit. But casting his eyes down into the valleys, he sees them all flourishing and green, and covered with vegetables fit for the pleasure and refreshment of animals, and very beautiful to admiration. There are arable fields and green pastures, fruit trees that look neither withered nor faded; nothing there is barren or unprofitable, but bountiful nature compensates with the fruitfulness of the valleys for the nakedness of the hills; so that here, if upon their tops, a man would be apt to think himself among the Lybian wastes; yet let him

but descend lower, and he would fancy himself in the pleasant fields of Tempe. All this is due to the industry of the people, who for want of rains, are forced to water their gardens every morning and evening, by the labour of the ox, who draws the water twice a day to the root of every tree in their gardens. There are several channels cut out in the ground for the water to run through, and at the banks of these canals, the trees are planted near the water for moisture and nourishment of the roots, which together with the mists that descend in the night time, preserve them fresh, and green, and very fruitful.

Having spoke thus much of Arabia in general, of the extent and situation of Muscatt, and the quality of its climate, of the stature and complexion of the inhabitants, and nature of the soil thereabouts; I will now relate one thing observable concerning the food of their cattle, and will then proceed to an account of the temperance and justice of the Arabians of Muscatt, for which two things they are more remarkable than any other nation this day in the world.

Their cattle here are fed with fish, which is a sort of food that seems as unnatural for them as for fish to live upon grass, which is the proper meat for cattle. But the fish which they eat is not fresh, and just taken out of the sea, but when a great quantity of it is caught, the Muscatters dig a large hole in the ground wherein they put it, till it remains so long that it rots and comes to a kind of earth. After this it is taken up, and boiled with water in great earthen pots, which makes a kind of thick broth; and standing till it is cool, it is then given to the cattle, by which they grow extreme fat, and yet their flesh is very savoury, not tainted with either an ill taste or smell.

The inhabitants of Muscatt feed promiscuously upon either fish or flesh; they eat beef, mutton, goat and deer, and the flesh of camels is admired by them, and is in repute for a healthful sort of meat. But they are very nice and curious in killing those animals on which they feed, and which they refuse to taste till the meat is cleansed and washed from the blood. They abound too in many sorts of fish, and are scrupulous in eating of some kinds of them, such especially as have no scales, from which they totally refrain, and esteem the food of such as well as of blood, an abomination. The soil affords abundance of wheat,

which might be properly made use of for their bread, but the dates are so plentiful, so pleasant and admired, that they mix them with all their food, and eat them instead of bread, through all these parts of Arabia, both with their fish and flesh.

But of all the followers of Mahomet, and zealous admirers of his four principal doctors, Abu Becre, Osman, Omar and Hali, none are so rigidly abstemious as the Arabians of Muscatt, as well from the juice of the grape, as other more common and innocent liquors. For tea and coffee which are judged the privileged liquors of all the Mahometans, as well Turks, as those of Persia, India, and other parts of Arabia, are condemned by them as unlawful refreshments, and abominated as bug-bear liquors, as well as wine. He that would turn advocate for any of these sorts of drink, and commend the use of them as convenient for their stomachs, as fit to cheer their hearts, and chase away melancholy from their spirits, would be looked upon as a vile contemner of their law, and an encourager of libertinism and intemperance. They abhor likewise the smoking of tobacco, and the warm intoxicating fumes of that Indian weed, and constantly burn all that they can find brought into their country. Sugar, water, and orange mixed together, which they call sherbet, is their only drink; such is their antipathy to all liquors that are warm and strong, that in perfect indignation they razed a Jew's house to the ground, that had only made some strong waters. Therefore they call themselves the strict Arabs, the chaste Mahometans, the only true professors of the Mussulman law, and genuine followers of the Prophet. To this degree of abstinence they are all bred up, who are natives of this region hereabouts; thus they abstain from all those sensible gratifications of their palates, which may any way inebriate their faculties, and render the mind dull and unactive; and shun the taste of any thing that may disturb their person, or raise up in them any irregular appetites.

Nor is the justice and civil conversation of the Arabians at Muscatt, less remarkable and to be admired, than their extreme temperance and sobriety. The governor of the city, who is nearly related to the king of the country, takes care that a strict watch be kept in the castle every night, for the safety of the



city, and prevention of all disorders that might happen. And will not allow any boat to go, or come ashore, or to row from ship to ship, either before the sun rises, or after it is down; to the end that all that traffic may do their business while it is day, that no man might dispose of his goods secretly, and shelter himself by the obscurity of the night.

They forbid all despotic authority in private families, and the arbitrary proceedings of either masters or parents towards their domestics. So that if either a child or a servant chance to transgress, let the crime be what it will, either more heinous, or less villanous, public justice must determine the punishment, and the magistrates must interpose in awarding the penalty, and no man must lift up his hand to punish any that offends in his own family. By this oeconomy in their affairs, the inferiors are freed from the violence of all splenitic disgusts, and unreasonable severities of their superiors. A revengeful master cannot vent his passion at his pleasure upon his servant, nor an unnatural parent beat and chastise his son at his will: Complaint must first be made to the magistrates of the place, who being dispassionate and unprejudiced in their tempers, examine the matter with a still mind, and arbitrate calmly in the case. No private punishment is ever inflicted in Muscatt and the adjacent parts; they cannot there think that any corrections are so equitable, as those that proceed from the deliberate sentence of unbiassed men.

If murder or theft, or any such execrable crime is at any time committed among them; which are seldomer here than in any other part of the world, the malefactor is never punished with sudden death, nor does any fatal hand touch him, but his sentence is, to be immured, where he leasurly dies, between two walls. For they hate by any violent direct death, to take away the life of any offender.

They are never dilatory in their administrations of justice, nor vex the clients with tiresome delays, but quickly determine in the case, and dispatch all matters that are brought before them. The governor with fifty or sixty more sit openly to the public view, whenever they do justice, which is not by plurality of voices, but all unanimously consent to the sentence that is pronounced.

These Arabians are very courteous in their deportment, and extreme civil to all strangers; they offer neither violence nor affront to any; and though they are very tenacious of their own principles, and admirers of their own religion, yet do they *never impose it upon any, nor are their morals leavened with such furious zeal, as to divest them of humanity, and a tender respect.* A man may travel hundreds of miles in this country, and never meet with any abusive language, or any behaviour that looks rude. And if you happen to be loaded with any money in your travels, you need no arms to defend your person, nor any guards to secure your purse; for you may sleep with it in your hands in the open fields, or lay it by you with safety as you repose yourself in the king's highway. Captain Edward Say, who had lived among them at Muscatt for several years, and who affirmed all this relation to be really true, had passed from one part of the country to another, some hundreds of miles, and never was troubled by any person, though he slept sometimes in the roads and fields, neither heard he of any that had been pillaged by robbers all that while.

In fine, these are a people naturally temperate and just, and endowed with those excellent qualities which the Grecian philosophers and Roman moralists endeavoured to inspire into their subjects, though they missed of their aim. For these are directly opposite in their temper and manner of life to those wild Arabs, that haunt the banks of Tigris, and sculk about near the river of Euphrates, that live by rapine, spoil and violence. I shall relate only one remarkable passage more, concerning the justice and kindness of these Arabs, and leave this theme.

When the forementioned Captain Say had unluckily lost his ship on the island of Macira, which is near this coast of Arabia; he and his mariners were so fortunate that they saved all their lives, and got on shore, though naked and in a very distressed forlorn condition. The sight of this deplorable accident moved the Arabs to pity and compassion towards them, and made them offer their service, by such signs, as they thought might be most intelligible, for assisting them in the recovery of those goods that were on board the wreck. They were perfect strangers both of them to each other's persons and language, and therefore one among the rest, who looked like the governor,

raised a heap of sand, as they sat near one another, upon the shore, which he divided into three parts, reserving two to himself, and offering the other to the captain. But the captain esteeming it unequally proportioned, shook his head, in token that he disliked the bargain. The governor seeing this, adjusted the matter with more equality, and divided the heap of sand into two parts only, one of which he took to himself, and gave the other half to the captain; which because he thought it very fair, they shook hands upon it, as a sign they were both well contented. The money which was brought on shore, and saved from the Wreck, was twelve or fourteen thousand pounds, which they contrived to divide in this manner. They tied to a stick two baskets instead of a pair of scales, and made them as equipoise as they could, and by these they weighed each parcel that was brought off from the ship with great exactness; if there appeared any seeming advantage in either balance, the governor forced that always upon the captain, so that he was not injured one mite, nor in all that account lost a farthing that was his due. If the inhabitants upon all the coasts of Europe were as hospitable and just to all persons of their own persuasion, as these Arabians were to those of a strange faith, and distant nation, those that do narrowly escape with their lives from the dangers of the sea, would not so often by a merciless people be barbarously deprived of them at land. The king too in compassion to his miseries, required only two per cent for his goods, whilst he made other strangers pay four.

The Portuguese formerly were received by the Arabians at Muscatt, with abundance of civility and candour, and allowed not only the freedom and exercise of their religion, but encouraged to build a stately church, and erect a college, and were no way stinted in the profession of their faith, and ostentation of their pompous worship. The king granted them the freedom of the port, by which they grew very powerful and wealthy, and by that means indulged themselves in ease and luxury, built many fair houses in the city to dwell in, and at length began to be so insolent and unruly, that they openly abused that civility which had entertained them so friendly, despised that government by which they had been protected, and end-

never used with any such hardships, so as to be forced to attempt an escape by flight. They neither correct them like slaves, nor impose upon them any servile work, but maintain them in ease and idleness, with a certain allowance of provisions every day. Of such unconquerable generosity are these Arabians even to their very enemies! And though they sometimes persuade them to their own faith, and to turn Mahometans, it is never but with mildness, with gentle allurements, and hopes of reward.

I will here insert a short account of the taking of Captain Edward Say by the Sanganiens, who inhabit a country opposite to the Arabian shore, and then pass over to the other coast of Arabia the Happy, which borders upon the Red Sea.

This commander, after his shipwreck upon the island Macira, and a tedious stay among the Arabians at Muscatt, set sail from thence to the island of Bombay in the company of eighteen or twenty ships bound for Surat, and other parts of India. After they had been some time at sea they parted company, and the ship wherein the captain had embarked, spied a little after, two sail to windward of them, as far as they could see from the top mast-head, which made all the sail they could after them, and thereby forced them to bear away right before the wind with all the sail they had; and to lighten their ship so as that she might the better escape them, they cut away their boat which was towed a stern, and threw abundance of valuable goods overboard. But the two ships notwithstanding this, outsailed them, and as they came up towards them, the black sea-men descried them by their colours, to be Sanganiens. They gave the captain chase all the day long till four o'clock in the afternoon, who fired the stern-chase with his four guns all the while; at length they shot his man at the helm through the head, and laid him on board in the midships, entering 70 or 80 men with sword and target. The black sailors, who were thirty, leapt overboard to save their lives, leaving the ship to the captain and his two servants. The throat of one of them was immediately cut, and as they came in fury to hew down the captain, and slay him instantly, as they had done his servant, he fended off the fatal blow by receiving it on his hand, which was cut half off through the dint and violence of the stroke.

While they were thus eager for his destruction, and intent in taking away his life, they spied a rich prize which diverted their fury and design; for the captain wore a set of gold buttons upon his coat, which they presently flew at upon the first sight, and were so zealous for the purchase, that he ransomed his life by the price of his gold. They stripped him as naked as an Indian faquir, excepting only a small piece of a shirt to cover his nakedness, and left him in that santone-like condition for two months, without either hat to his head, or shoe to his foot. One of the Sanganian ships which had made them a prize, was of some force, she carried ten guns and 150 men; the other was only a small galley of no more than four guns and 50 men, whereby the captain who had resisted them stoutly for some time, being easily overpowered, was forced to surrender. The Sanganians after the dispute was over, finding no more resistance, grew compassionate and kind, and refreshed the captain with water and opium, which was the nourishment they found most proper for themselves after any hard labour or languishment of spirit, and the speediest relief for decayed nature. They were much concerned too for the cure of his hand which was in danger of being lost by the deepness of the wound, and applied to it loaf sugar to stop the bleeding, and something else to keep the wound clean, after which the wool of a sheep's back, and the oil of their lamps, without any other medicines, in a short time thoroughly perfected the cure.

The ship was taken near the island of Bombay, which made them spend a month in sailing before they arrived in their own country. When they drew near Aramra which was the port to which they designed, they according to custom, fired a gun belonging to the captain's ship, to salute their country and relations; in which the captain had hid 1,500 Venetians, to secure them from the rapine of the pirates, thinking them safe in that stronghold, but whereby this means unluckily lost; which made it a very costly salute to our poor commander, of whose money they discharged near £700 at one shot.

The queen of the country, after she heard of their arrival, sent a messenger for the captain to bring him up to court, whither he travelled for two or three miles without covering

either to his head or feet, very ill equipped to appear in the presence of a queen. When he came in this distress before her majesty, she spoke to him by a Portuguese interpreter, who inquired of him by the queen's directions, which of her people they were that had his moneys; which he answered he could not tell. Then she threatened to keep him a perpetual exile from his country, and for his further comfort, would allow him only salt water to drink.

It happened about a month before this time, that a Portuguese ship with a priest and his images had been taken and brought into this harbour, which because they were devoutly revered by that nation, therefore did the queen imagine, that all Europeans had them in the same religious esteem: And because that the captain was inflexible to her other menaces, she ordered the image of the Virgin Mary, with those of two or three saints more, about a foot high, to be brought before him, and told him if he would but yield to kiss them, she would give credit to what he said. The captain who was a very rational man, and bred out of the road of Romish superstition, was neither so sparing of his civilities, as to forbear a complement to the piece of wood, nor of such unrefined principles as to give it a religious adoration, but was ready either to kiss or burn it, which they pleased, since he had an assurance of his release upon such easy terms, and therefore kissed it very freely; and after two or three days' stay here, where he fed upon rice and water, and lay in the night time with the cattle, he was dismissed. A while after they sent him aboard his vessel for a day or two, which lay in the harbour, and gave him along with him about twelve pints of wheat, the sweepings of the ship, to sustain him in his voyage to Surat; but he embarked upon an Arabian ship which was then loading for Muscatt, in which he was carried to that city.

Aramra, where the captain was brought in prisoner, lies opposite to the Arabian shore, between Sindy and Cape Jugatt, a little distance from Diu, which belongs to the Portuguese. The country of these Sanganiens lies between those vast empires of Persia, which is on the west, and Indostan, which borders upon it on the east. They are great pirates, and live by those prizes which they take at sea, where they range from

the Streights of Ormus to the Gulf of Cambay, and down the Malabar coast, cruising about from one place to another, where any hopes of booty invites them forward. They infest all the western coasts of India, and though their ships are of no great force, yet they are seldom taken because they are made so well for sail, that they are ready to run when they see a vessel of any countenance; and those they think they are able to encounter, they endeavour to make of them a prey.

Though the principles of these Sangaians are so far leavened with fraud and injustice, that they wholly devote themselves to a life of piracy, and subsist by the spoil of the innocent traffickers at sea, yet have they not all divested themselves of their obligations to all kinds of justice, but are very faithful to what they promise, and inviolable observers of their word; as our captain had occasion to try by an experiment very successful and advantageous. For being robbed of all his wealth, but an hundred checkins which were privately hid in some part of the ship, his cook came to him and acquainted him, that the boatswain of the man of war, who was put in commander-in-chief on board them, would engage to return him half of whatever money was committed to his custody. The captain delivered to him an hundred pieces of gold, which the boatswain tied in a small bit of cloth, with a small line to it and a buoy at the end of it, and threw it overboard. For every man was searched before they went ashore, and not suffered to come from aboard, till the vessel was unladed. The day following, the boatswain went overboard in quest of the bag he had dropped in the ocean, and after a little search found it, and delivered half of the gold to the captain, at which the captain was so well pleased, being wholly at his mercy, and in that distress, that he offered him ten pieces as a gratuity, which the boatswain rejected for this reason, because he told him he would keep his word according to his promise.

I shall now proceed to an account of Mocha, and other remarkable places situated upon the Red Sea, according to the method I lately proposed.

## MOCHA

And other Remarkable Places upon the Red Sea

I SHALL here give the reader a short view of Mocha, and other places of note and traffic, which border upon the Red Sea on the Arabian side, in the full extent of it from the island of Socatra, where it begins to mix with the Oriental Sea, or Indian Ocean, to the very head of it, which reaches to that Isthmus, or Neck of Land which divides Asia from Africk. I shall not detain him with any tedious description of these places, or run into expatiating upon their government and laws, the manners and customs of their inhabitants, or their strength and polity, but only lead him along the shore, and give him a view of the harbours as we coast along, to prevent all miscarriage at his first entering into these ports, many of which are scarce known to the navigators of Europe. A fuller account of these parts may be expected from another hand from Mr. Edward Clyve, who by his personal observations is qualified not only for confirming all this relation, but also is furnished with such remarks, as enable him for a larger performance, in a clear and ample account of what is yet unknown, and very worthy the public notice, among these people.

I shall observe no other method in this relation, than what nature has chalked out to us in the situation of the towns, which shall briefly be described according as they lie upon the sea-coast

And shall begin with the Arabian Gulph, or Red Sea, the reason of which name is perplexed with variety of opinions, and different conjectures; for antiquity (we find) did not confine the name of the Red Sea, only to that narrow channel which divides Arabia from Africk, and gives a boundary to some parts of those ancient kingdoms, but included also the Persian Gulf and all the seas about Arabia, and all that vast tract of ocean which extends from Cape bone Esperance, even beyond the river Ganges. And the later Western writers have limited it only to this gulph, because it lies the nearest, and was first



Mahomet his Prophet, and fill the air with such like pious and devout expressions of their law, till they are not able any longer to speak or stand. While they lie thus lifeless, as it were, and entranced upon the ground, they talk, they say, with God and the Prophet, who communicates to them divine revelations; and the credulous multitude who are easily persuaded to give assent to what they say, firmly believe that they are heavenly inspired. This is done in imitation, as I conceive, and no countenance the practice of their false Prophet, who wisely contrived that a bodily disease should pass for the infusion of the spirit; and being subject to the falling sickness, declared that those swoonings were heavenly raptures, in which he conversed familiarly with the angel Gabriel.

Next to this place westward is Casseen, which stands in 15 deg. no. The road here in the western monsoons is very safe, but it lies open to the eastward. The town looks mean, and is no way beautified with stately edifices, nor made strong by fortifications, only it is dignified sometimes with the residence of the king, when his revenues come from Socatra. For as his royalties are very small, and his income inconsiderable, because his subjects are both poor and slavish, so is he hereby debarred from maintaining a princely pomp, or making a show in any magnificent appearance, and therefore very often turns merchant himself, for hopes of advantage, and for supporting his royal state and grandeur. Several gelves come hither freighted with rice, dates, camlees, which are a sort of hair coats made in Persia, and red and white calicoes, which are hartered for olibanum, aloes and butter. For the necessities of the natives incline them rather to an exchange of commodities, than a traffic for silver, which loses its esteem here, as much as it is idolized in other parts. Some coins however are current among them, viz. dollars, ahassees, and mamoodées. That which is here esteemed instead of money, is a sort of seed, which passes in the room of small coins, and is distributed commonly by handfuls. Here the natives are mainly addicted to those mean vices of cozenage and stealth, and think, they make a good purchase of any thing, which they can compass by fraud and cheating. Another sin to which they are often given, is so vile, that the foulness of it I cannot with immodesty mention. The proper season of the year for trade is May, June and July.

A place next to this, much more noted both for the civil deportment of the natives, and for the convenience of a port, for a greater concourse of people, and for traffic, is Seer, which is much frequented by ships from several ports, viz Muscatt, Gombroon, Surat, and Gella, and some other places on the Abasseen shore, from whence they bring butter, myrrh and slaves, and those from Muscatt and Surat transport with them oilbanum, aloes, and what the port affords

Aden, which is situated in 12 deg 20m no is one of the ancientest, fairest and most pleasant cities of all Arabia, surrounded with walls on one side, and mountains on the other. It was formerly in the possession of the Portuguese, when they were renowned for their conquests in the east, but by treachery, the Turks made themselves the masters of it, after some time, till the puissant King of Hyaman became victorious over the Turks, and seized it for his own inheritance. This prince is here invested with the title of the King of Hyaman, (or Yeoman, as the natives seem to pronounce it) which signifies Arabia Felix, not that his dominions stretch so far, but because the extent of his territories and vast treasures, do much exceed all the rest of the kings that inhabit Arabia. For his kingdom reaches near 400 miles on the Red Sea, from Aden as far as Geron

Aden formerly surpassed all the rest of the neighbouring ports upon this shore, was a famous magazine for the various commodities of India, Persia, Arabia, and what was brought over by the Abasseeans, and was inhabited by a miscellany people, Turks, and Arabians, Persians, Indians and Ethiopians, who resided here for the advantages of that mighty port. The houses were built both neat and strong, and the view from the top of the mountains afforded a curious divers prospect. Nature gave it such a fortified situation, that it was a garrison without art, and was able to defend itself with all force, from a potent enemy that might invade it, either by sea or land. Till the eastern luxury which is more intent on indulgence and ease, than building forts and raising armies, made them neglect their fortifications, and leave it open and defenceless for the first bold assailant. The proper months to trade here, are April, May, June, July, and some part of

August, at which time all the ships in the sea take their departure, because of the change of the monsoons, which always happen towards the end of that month. They carry nothing from hence, but coffee, aloes, olibanum and myrrh; the three last of which are not the product of the country.

I should now take leave of this place, and proceed to give some account of Mocha, were it not convenient, before my departure, to insist a little upon the discovery of some ports and passages hereabouts, to instruct such as design to travel into these seas.

The land of Aden, because it makes like an island, was formerly reputed to have been one; from whence steering w. and w. by n. you will come to the Babbs, which in the Arabian language, signifies gate or door. The Babbs is a small island opening to the Red Sea, and made in form very like a garfish, being low and flat. Between this and the mainland, is a safe passage, if you keep the mid-channel, where is 10, 11 and 12 fathom water. But the great ships for better security, choose rather to go on the outside, where is seldom less than forty fathom, till they hale in for shore, which is commonly done, as soon as they are past the streights. Here are seven islands, but none of them so remarkable as the Babbs. The streights here are commonly called those of Babel Mandel, which are about 7 leagues over from mainland to mainland, about 20 leagues from Aden, and 12 or 13 from Mocha. The course from the Babbs is about n. by west, and n. north west.

Before you come to these streights, you will make a very high tableland, and an opening to the southward of it; which appears very like the passage into the Red Sea; but then you will discover the said Babbs island to rectify you, through which steering north, or n. by w. as you see occasion; there is opening to the southward of the said high land, a great river that leads to Gella, which is the greatest port on the Abasseeen side without the said Babbs.

Steering up the Arabian coast before the arrival at Mocha, is a seeming wood, which is several date-trees and gardens, to the northward of which is Mocha, which yields a more beautiful prospect at sea, than on shore. Here you must not come into less than 7 fathom, nearer are so many dangerous

over-falls, that they will be apt to scare a young unexpert pilot. When the southernmost mosque is once brought to bear, e. by s. the ships may luff up, or bear into the road, and anchor in 4, 5, 6, or 7 fathom. Before this road lies a long ridge of sands, which has seldom above two fathom water, which renders it dangerous for those that enter to go in, till they have the bearings above said.

Near the southern fort is a channel, for the grabs that use these parts, that gives them a passage in or out; but is dangerous for Europeans without the assistance of pilots.

Mocha lies in 13 deg. 30 m. north, and has been of late the principal port in the Red Sea, and to which ships traffic from Surat, Cambay, Dieu, Malabar, and other parts of India. Hither also come the ships from several parts of Europe; England, Holland, France, Denmark, Portugal; as also from Casseen, Socatra, Muscatt, and all the Gulph of Persia, which bring hither the products of their several countries; and are met by the merchants of Barbary, Egypt, Turkey, by the Abasseens, Arabians, &c. who buy off their goods for ready money, and make little other returns but coffee, sena, and some aloes, hepetica, and other small things of no great moment.

The custom paid for their goods by the Europeans is 3 per cent both out and in, and they are privileged to lay their goods in their houses which they vent here, without being constrained to bring them to the custom-house. The goods of all other merchants are examined, and the customs stated, which are 5 per cent that is 2 per cent more, than what is required from the Europeans. This was formerly done in favour to those merchants, but is of late turned much to their prejudice.

If the Europeans bring hither any cloth or piece goods, they are some of them opened to discover what kind they are of, and that a just account of them may be carried to the governor. But the custom for them is paid according only to what they are sold and bought at, which is accepted by the governor; but then if the broker falsifies in his accounts, and is ever found guilty of fraudulent returns, he smarts severely, and is fleeced for it after the ship's departure.

Whatever commodities are bought or sold by weight, must be brought to the scales at the custom-house, by which both

	C.	Q.	L.
Babars are English,	3	3	or 420
Frassells are	15	to one Baharr	28
Manns	10	to one Frassel.	
Fuckeas	40	to one Mann.	
Coffila's	10	to one Fuckea.	
Dry Measure are these, viz.			
Teman	is 40	Memeeda's.	
Medeeda	is 3	Pints English.	

By this medeeda they sell oil, butter and liquids; but it yields not above two pints and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of corn, &c. in dry measures. They measure their cloth, silk, &c. by a covit or guz, which is 24 inches, and buy our cloth by the piece, of which they measure 4 or 5 together, and take our accounts and packers marks.

Their coins are dollars of all sorts, but they abate 5 per cent on the pillar dollars, because they esteem their silver not very pure The dollar weight with them is 17dr. 14gr. as it is only 17d. and 12gr. with us. All their coins are taken by weight, and valued according to their fineness, and of gold they have several sorts, viz.

The Ducket of	{	Venice
		Germany
		Barbary
		Turkey
		Egypt, &c.

The comassees are a small coin valued according to the government's pleasure; but they keep their accounts by an imaginary coin of cabees, reckoning 80 to a dollar.

The natives were very civil and courteous to the English, especially till the year 1687, when the war commenced between the English and the Mogul, which was so severe among the poor Moor merchants, and such a disturbance and loss to the innocent Indians that traded hither, that it has quite (in a

manner) destroyed the traffic of this port, and driven the trade to several other parts in this sea. This war has since occasioned the utter ruin of several Indian, Turkey, and Arabian merchants. For when the English sailors at that time perceived the softness of the Indian lascars; how tame they were to all their cruelties, how patient and submissive to their force and arms, and how willingly they endured the spoiling of their goods, rather than engage their lives in a bloody contest; they no sooner returned for England, but they embarked again upon a new design with some more Europeans to turn pirates, and rob these harmless traffickers in the Red Sea. And accordingly in the year 1691, they took from the merchants that traded between Mocha and Surat to the value of £1,20,000. The succeeding year they did the same; and at this time there are two or three small ships more upon the quest for rich prizes, and making seizure of those ships they meet with; which has so impoverished already some of the Mogul's people, that they must either cease to carry on a trade, or resolve to be made a prey. Though the Mogul cannot justly charge the E. India Company with the barbarous actions of these pirates, yet the unhappy occasion of it may be very apt to excite in him very ireful resentments, because of the misery of so many of his subjects. And the English at Surat have been already made sensible of some inconveniences and hardships consequent upon it, by their imprisonment in their factory twice in two years, while I stayed there.

Coffee is the only commodity in repute in this port, of which there is no scarcity at all. It grows in abundance at Beetlefuckee, Sonany, Asab, and other parts; but from these it seldom comes grabled, or well packed, which puts the buyers upon a new trouble. It may be bought one year with another, at about 45 dollars per haharr, and shipped. It is ripe at a proper season of the year, and is subject to blasts, as our corn and fruits are. It thrives near the water, and grows in clusters like our holly-berries; the berry itself resembles a bay-berry; two of which are enclosed in one shell, which separates when it is broken. The leaf of it is like a Lawrel's in bigness, but very thin. The tree itself neither shoots out in largeness, nor is very long productive of fruit, but is still supplied by new planting of others.

This commodity is proper only to these parts, and, as the Arabs tell us, is by the bounty of heaven given only to them, as a means to procure for them all those necessaries, which they stand in need of from other parts. Few commodities of any value are here besides, except sena, some quantity of which may be bought, and very cheap; as also aloes hepatica. From Casseen, Seer, and Socatra, come aloes socatra, and olibanum; from Gella and other parts on the Abasseen shore, mirrh, from Socachim, elephant's teeth, and gold dust, which are bought by the merchants of India.

Moseck is distant n.w. from Mocha about 10 leagues, and is of no importance for trade, except it be for salt, since Mocha drew the Indian merchants from it, and dreined its commerce; for the city of Mocha cannot boast of its foundation above two hundred years. This port is situated near Zebid and Beetlefuckee, but Hodeeda is supplied with coffee from several places of note for that commodity.

Jutor was formerly a burning island, and is at present uninhabited, and is distant from Mooseek about 3 leagues.

Hodeeda is placed in about 14d. 50m. and is distant from Mocha about 60 miles. In this is a creek very convenient for building grabs or gelvas, and it is likewise very happy in a port, in which is shipped abundance of coffee for Judda, Mocha, and other places. It is under the government of Lohia, the next port of moment upon the main.

Comoran, is an island which is blessed by nature with a favourable soil and advantageous situation, but unfortunate in the entertainment of villanous inhabitants, who are characterized with no better names, than that of robbers, or bandittoes. It lies in 15deg. 20m. and is about 10 miles long, and two broad. Ships of the greatest burthen may anchor safely, in a bay or road which lies on the easternmost side of it, not subject to any danger by violent frets of wind, or tempestuous blustering weather. It is fortified with a castle, in which are some few guns and men; and it produces no commodities of considerable advantage, but supplies the ships with good water, goats and fish. The passage from hence to the main, is not above an English mile.

Since the port of Mocha was disturbed by the English ships in the Indian war, and the merchants' goods which were bound

for Surat, were there seized on by Captain A——s, This struck such terror in all those people that were formerly wont to trade thither, that they declined the port, and removed the trade to a town not very remote from it, named Lohia, which is situated in 15 deg. 4 m and is now grown into that credit which Mocha had, and draws to it both the adjacent merchants, and the ships from India and other parts. The entrance into the harbour here, is difficult and dangerous without pilots, but the port is noted for its convenience and trade in small vessels, and ships for Judda. It is honoured too with the residence of the governor of all this part of the country, and the island before mentioned.

Gezon, which lies in 17 deg. no. is the last town of note upon this coast, appertaining to the king of Arabia Felix. It is eminent for its trade of pearl fishing, which is managed by Bannians, with that advantage, that they raise themselves thereby to very great estates. The island Persham, which is situated from hence about 3 leagues, is most remarkable for this fishing, wherein the natives are employed by the Bannians. The town itself is small, and only considerable for this pearl-fishing, and for sending a great quantity of corn to all parts of Arabia Felix. From hence to Comphida, is no port of moment, or that is any way remarkable for traffic; and if there were some convenient harbours in this distance, the wild Arabs, who are expert robbers and live by spoil, and inhabit those parts, would certainly divert all merchants from coming near them.

The next place as we ascend towards the head of the Red Sea, is Comphida, which lies in 19 deg. 5 m. It was formerly subject to the Turks, and its present governor commands only about 50 soldiers, which carries only a face of command to keep the people in awe, but is more probably designed for prevention of the stealing of custom, because many persons choose to land here, and from hence travel by land to Mecca.

Judda is the principal port in this sea, belonging to the grand signior, lying in about 21 deg. 30 m. This port is environed with dangerous sands, which make the passage into it difficult to strangers, but is very safe for ships when they come to an anchor. The air is healthful, and its provisions sound and



plentiful, for it affords choice mutton, beef, fish, grapes and other fruits. It is the sea-port to Mecca, a place renowned for the nativity of Mahomet, the vile impostor, who first drew breath in this barren soil. And indeed the land about that place is so useless and unprofitable, and unfit for any improvements, that it seems to be accursed by nature, and debarred of heaven's blessings, by a constant scarcity of all things, unless they are imported from other kingdoms. Therefore is the grand signior obliged to very great expenses, for its support, to furnish out a maintenance for it yearly from Egypt, and send from thence 20 or 25 sail of large ships, laden with provisions, money, &c. for its subsistence and the support of trade.

Judda flourishes in a constant traffic from India, Persia, other parts of Arabia, and the Abasseen shore; it is subject to the Turkish government, and defended by their arms and valour; for its fortifications otherwise, are but very weak, being only surrounded by mud-walls. There is a passage into this town three ways, by so many gates, two of which are not considerable, but the third which is the principal, and leads toward the celebrated birth-place of the Prophet, is so sacred, that no Christian must pass through it without forfeiture of his religion, and converting to the profession of the Mahometan law: Except he be a man of wealth, and then his soul is not so valuable as his money, which will freely be taken in exchange for it, and makes all offences venial here.

Hither the Arabians bring their coffee, which is bought here by the Turks, and shipped for the Sues. The dollar weight here is 17d. 10gr. Hither likewise resort every year several Hajis from all parts of the Mahometan countries, who come hither as pilgrims in a spirit of devotion, to visit their famed city Mecca. And as soon as they are arrived here, or at Yamboe, which is a port a little higher in this sea, they instantly strip themselves, out of a humour of mortification, and set out in a holy pilgrimage for Mecca, with only a lungi about their middle, which is a piece of calicoe about 3 yards length. But I leave off from any description of these customs, being engaged only to proceed in an account of their ports. From hence therefore the ships sail in November and December for the Suez, to which the passage is rendered very tedious by

their coming to an anchor every night. For rocks and sands, which are very numerous between these two places, must needs be very dangerous to pilots, that trust only to their outward senses, and are guided by the eye, without any use of either lead or line, or compass. They place themselves upon the ship's fore-castle, to spy the colour and rippings of the water, and to direct them clear of all the shoals. The anchoring places all along this coast are very good, but the towns are few, because the country is much disturbed by the wild Arabs, whose life is a pilgrimage of rapine and spoil. Therefore if the wind shifts at noon, or if they cannot reach their port before the night comes on, they certainly bear away to the port from whence they came, if there is no harbour nearer.

From Judda to Yamboe, which is the next port of any note, is reckoned above 10 leagues, for it is situate in 25 deg. 10m. The harbour is safe for ships when they have once escaped the passage into it which is dangerous, by reason of the many shoals and sands. The castle with which the town is fortified, is rather built for a terror to the petty insolencies of the Arabs, than as a fort of defence against a powerful warlike enemy. This town, which is reputed very ancient, has lost abundance of its former glory, in that it once was dignified with the title of chief port for the city Mecca, but is now confined a sea-port only to Medina, the burying-place of their victorious and triumphant Prophet; from which it is distant about four days journey. The adjacent country produces little but grapes, for the use of the natives, and of the ships; therefore stores and provisions for Medina are here unloaded, that are brought for that end in ships from Suez.

From hence is nothing remarkable besides the barrenness and strangeness of the country, till we come to the narrowing of the sea which is next Mount Sinai; the cape of which sea is called Ross Mahomed, or the head of Mahomet; from which to Tor, which is the port of Mount Sinai, is about seven leagues, and about the same distance from the Egyptian shore.

Tor is the sea-port of Mount Sinai, distant from it about 40 miles, wherein is a castle of small force, under the government of the Turks.

At Sinai live the caloyers, or a convent of religious Greeks, who give a friendly reception to all sort of pilgrims that resort

thither. This monastery is said to have been built by Justinian, and dedicated to St. Catherine. The Greeks distribute their charity promiscuously, as well to the Arabians, as those of their own nation, both to the Christians and the Mahometans. The Greeks here enjoy too, a large plantation of date trees, the fruit whereof is generally consumed by the Arabs, who behave themselves imperiously towards these Christians, and mightily enslave them, merely for allowing them the liberty of enjoying their monastery at the Mount.

Near Tor is a bath called Hummum Mosa, or the Bath of Moses, the water whereof is warm as new milk. And at their return from Mecca, the caravans in their passage stop here.

From Tor to the head of the Red Sea, which may be about 100 miles; nothing is to be seen very considerable, but that place which is so remarkable in the history of the Holy Scriptures, and which these natives, as well as the Turks and Greeks say, was the very place where the children of Israel passed the Red Sea, in their flight from Pharaoh, which is about 40 or 50 miles distant from the head of it. The passage is not above 15 miles broad, and the mid-channel is about 35 fathoms deep. Josephus giving an account of this wonderful escape of the Israelites, tells us, l. 2 c. 7. how that Alexander's army had such another passage through the Sea of Pamphilia, which divided itself to give way to his soldiers, in his expedition against the Persians, because there was no other way to come to destroy them.

The Egyptian shore all along that coast which is opposite to this, is observed to be very steep, except it be a part of it, through which the children of Israel journeyed, which is a very fine descent about eight or nine miles down to the sea. On each side of which are impassable mountains, like so many high walls, which are called Gibbal Pharoön, or the Hills of Pharaoh. So that except the sea had opened for the safety of God's people, they had nowhere to turn, either to the right hand or to the left, but must have inevitably perished by the hands of Pharaoh's army.

Sues is an ancient town at the very head of the Red Sea, and lies nearest the latitude of 30d. It is defended by a wall and a castle of some force, designed rather as a small bulwark

against the incursions of the wild Arabs, than to guard it from the arm of a potent assailant. It is the sea-port of Egypt, and under the government of Grand Cairo, from which it is distant about 50, or 60 miles. The best ships belonging to the port are bought at Surat by the Turks, who carry on the sole trade of this place, though some vessels of very good burthen are built here too, though by very unskilful artists. Pliny in his *Nat. Hist.* L. vi. cap. 29. mentions a town called Suasa, so called, as some think, from Shuak, one of Abraham's sons by Keturah, Gen. 25. 2. and says it lies in that part of Arabia which is next to Egypt. This probably must be the same.

I have now finished these travels upon the Arabian shore, all along the Red Sea, as far as from Babell-Mandell, which is the opening into the Indian Ocean to Suez, which is at the head of that gulph, lying nearest n.w. and s east, and distant above 1,200 miles. And have principally described only the ports on the Arabian coast, without insisting much upon other matters, to give some light to sailors, and such as travel into some of those unfrequented parts, where they may find convenient ports, and what is the condition of their harbours, and something of their trade.

## THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

FEBRUARY the 14th 1692, did the Benjamin set sail towards the Cape of Good Hope, on her homeward bound voyage, whither the passage was safe and pleasant till we were driven upon the Chagoes by some undiscernible tides, which are a company of sharp rocks visible to the eye, as we sailed along upon the shallow water; the sight whereof for the space of half a day, and the distance we were at from any land, had we unhappily miscarried, struck us with very formidable apprehensions of the extreme danger we were exposed to all that while. But having fortunately made our way through

those perilous craggy shelves, we kept our course with good success till our arrival at the Cape.

The sailors have commonly notice of this land before they spy it, by the soundings which run out sixty leagues into the ocean, and the Almitrosses which is a large sea-fowl, and never fly very far from land; and the Manga Voluchoes, another sea fowl that keeps thereabouts. On May the 15th, 1693, when we approached the Cape, in the evening, the amplitude made 9 d. 45 min. N. Wly. variat. In the morning 10 deg. 14 min. and by the azimuth 10 deg. 6 min. In the morning the Table-land bore E. S. The variation at the Cape alters much, for in the year 1689, when we came out, the variation then was eleven degrees, in the year 1670 it was only six. At Java, the variation has not altered these hundred years, as is evident from journals of that date.

On May the 16th, about ten at night we came to an anchor at the Cape, but the commander being a stranger in the Bay, fired two guns, to signify we were in distress, which presently brought two Dutch masters on board us, who told us that we anchored in bad ground; whereupon we weighed and stood near the shore, and there dropped our anchor in better.

We found in the road ten Dutch East-India ships, most of them of good burthen, richly laden, bound for Europe; these stayed expecting two or three more from the Indies, and six had sailed a little before from thence to Holland. And every year the Dutch trade to the Indies, employs near 20 ships, and as many return home; which with the trade that they drive there, where they traffic with at least an hundred sail, advances their profits to some hundred thousands, I had almost said some millions every year. For by their very commerce at Surat, which is inconsiderable, in respect of the advantage which they reap from several other factories in India, that not exceeding the twentieth part; they reckon an annual gain, after the deduction of all expenses of their factory, of fifteen hundred thousand guilders, which in English money rises almost to an hundred and fifty thousand pounds. This account I had from one intimately acquainted with those concerns.

The harbour here is very safe and commodious for ships, free from all inconvenience and danger; except it be towards

mid-winter, which is there in June, at the sun's approaching the tropic of Cancer; then the north-west winds blow sometimes so very fierce, that the ships are unable to ride against them. For by a violent gust from that quarter, in A. 1692, about the latter end of May, two Dutch, and one English ship, not able to bear up against the fury of the weather, were driven upon the shore and foundered.

All the Holland East India ships, both those outward and homeward bound, touch in here for fresh provisions, and furnish the place with plenty of all commodities, both from India and Europe. By which means there is scarce one part of all the tripartite continent, that is furnished with that abundance of conveniences, which the Cape can boast of. And that I may present the reader with a more regular account of this famous promontory, and give him a more methodical idea of the place, I shall insist upon the following description of it in this manner. First, in observing its situation, its pleasant air, and fertile soil. Secondly in considering the nature and customs of its original inhabitants. And thirdly, in showing the profit and convenience, which this plantation affords the Dutch.

First therefore the Cape of Good Hope is situated between thirty-four and thirty-five degrees of south latitude, and is the furthest tract of our continent towards the most southern part of Africa, and esteemed by all, the most renowned promontory in the world. The Greeks and Latins, as far as we can see, have had no certain knowledge of it, much less those before them; yet from some ancient authors it is evident, that the barbarians, that is, the strange nations have made, or caused to be made the circumnavigation of Africa, which could not be done without knowing of this Cape. Bartholomew Diaz was the Portuguese, who first discovered it in A. 1486, which occasioned Emanuel, King of Portugal, to give it the name of Cape Bone Esperanse, because he hoped a passage would be opened to the E. Indies by the doubling of it; which accordingly happened to the mighty enriching of his kingdom, and of his subjects who settled there.

It was the second time discovered by Vasco da Gama, in A. 1497, at the command of Don Emanuel King of Portugal.

And was at those times esteemed so dangerous a promontory, that the navigators were wont to call it the Lion of the Ocean, or the Tempestuous Cape, because of the ruffling weather and boisterous winds; which used to discourage their touching upon it, unless they were constrained by some necessity. The thunder and lightning, and impetuous storms, which have been observed upon the Cape Sierra Leona, have made some conjecture that this place was called by Ptolomy and Hanno of Carthage the chariot of the Gods. And to this day, if the ships from India are retained beyond their proper season of returning, they sometimes heat the ocean at the Cape for a week or a fortnight's space, and after all that toil and danger are forced upon retiring to the island Mauritius, till the winter is past.

The inaccessible heights and craggy cliffs of some of the mountains towards the south, have made the Portuguese give them the name of Os Picos Fragosos, i.e. sharp pointed, because they rear their lofty forlorn heads so high in the clouds.

The neighbourhood of Cape Bone Esperance, to that vast ocean towards the south, cools the air to some degrees beyond what the proportion of that latitude might otherwise seem to give. For in the same degree north, as mariners observe, particularly where there is not the extent of so wide an ocean, the coolness of the air is not so perceptible. The reason of it may be the spacious spreading tract of sea, which gives the air once agitated, more liberty to continue its motion, and constantly to increase its coldness; which on the contrary, is straitened and repressed on land, by the meeting of mountains, trees, houses, and other obstacles, and therefore not so impetuous; neither so cold, because the sulphureous vapours which arise from the earth, and make fiery exhalations, often intermixing with the nitrous, which make wind, qualify them in some measure. As at Surat, the winds are by much hotter, which fly over the land to us, than those that come from the sea. The south winds here therefore are observed to be the coolest, because they blow from the great sea. The air, however, is not scorching here for this reason; nor very cold, because of its nearness to the fountain of heat. It has no excesses, but what are tolerable to children, nor anything offensive to old

age. It is temperate and sweet, healthful and pleasant; and is very agreeable to the constitution of the Dutch, as well as the natives, to whom it gives activity and vigour. It quarrels with no kind of natural temper, and cherishes all sorts of animals, as well as plants. Nor did I ever know any that had been in this paradise of the world, who denied it the character of one of the loveliest regions they had ever seen.

And this fair country which the blacks inhabit, is blessed with a soil as pregnant as the days are pleasant, and prepared for any improvements. Beeves and sheep, hogs and goats feed here upon the herbage of the field, which makes them fleshed, and very well tasted. And all those sorts of grain which are proper for food, or for making strong drink, thrive here, and grow in that plenty, that no part of Europe can abound with them more. Which is all to be ascribed to the indefatigable diligence and industry of the Dutch, who being forced to a good husbandry of the ground by the scantiness which they live upon at home, continue their thrifty cultivating humour, when they are removed to a soil where they may cultivate what quantity they please; for they are a people remarkable for improvements, for their commendable pains and care wherever they inhabit.

But here grows the fruitful vine, as well as the wheat and the barley, and the Dutch delight themselves in the double variety both of French and English liquors, of beer and wine of their own growth, with the sprightly juice of the one, and the healing oily quality of the other. The rivers and ponds are full of fish, of great variety and very delicate. The country is covered with woods and forests, which abound with store of beasts and fowls, as deer, antilopes, baboons, foxes, &c Ostriches, whose eggs are transported to various countries, herons, partridges, peasants, pelicans, geese, ducks. Tigers and lions are very numerous, and so bold, that they range sometimes within gun-shot of the fort, and for that reason seldom return back, and do often prey upon the cattle, for which cause they are kept within shelter in the night.

Two French ships returning from the Indies in A. 1689, with very rich cargoes, were invited to touch at the Cape, by the store of delicate provisions which they heard were there.



But the taste of that fresh mutton cost them both their ships and men. For the speedy intelligence which the active Dutch had sent abroad of the eruption of the war that year, arriving at the Cape before any news could reach the French, betrayed them to the vigilance of the Hollanders, who seized their ships as soon as they were well moored in the bay.

The next description which I come to, secondly, is of the ancient inhabitants of this promontory, in what relates to their nature and customs. They retain the vulgar name of Hotantots, because of their constant repetition of that word in their bobbling dances.

There is a vast difference between the nature of these people that dwell upon this place, and the country they inhabit; for of all parts this affords a dwelling most neat and pleasant, and of all people they are the most bestial and sordid. They are the very reverse of human kind, Cousin Germans to the Halal-chors, only meaner and more filthy; so that if there is any medium between a rational animal and a beast, the Hotantot lays the fairest claim to that species. They are sunk even below idolatry, are destitute both of priest and temple, and saving a little show of rejoicing, which is made at the Full and the New Moon; have lost all kind of religious devotion. Nature has so richly provided for their convenience in this life, that they have drowned all sense of the God of it, and are grown quite careless of the next.

They are more tawny than the Indians, and in colour and features come nearest the Negroes of any people, only they are not quite so black, nor is their cottony hair so crisp, nor their noses altogether so flat. For nature pleases herself as well in the variety of individuals of the same kind, as in a great number of species of all sorts of animals.

It might seem here a rational conjecture for the reason of the Negroe's blackness, that they are burnt by the sun's beams, which we experimentally find tinctures the fairest complexions, when it comes near them, which recover again by withdrawing to a cooler air. And therefore that those who are most exposed to the sun's heat should always be the blackest. For blackness and whiteness are not supposed natural to any people whatever, it is presumed to be the effect of the climates, because those

are fair by living a long time under or near the line, in two or three generations as it is affirmed, become *ny* and black, though they marry only with fair people. But I think there is something in nature which seems to thwart current opinion. For under the same parallels are people quite different colours; as for instance, the Hotantots, who between thirty-four and thirty-five degrees are black; the inhabitants of Candie, who are under the same elevation of Pole, are white. The people of England are white, and the *ives* near Hudson's Bay, which is as cold and northerly a *nate*, are black. And neither the colony of the English near Hudson's Bay, nor the Dutch at Cape Bone Esperanse receive any alteration in their colour, but are fresh and fair as in Europe, and yet the natives in both parts are olive-coloured. We are apt to ascribe this to the air and climate or earth, which in some places produces Patagons, who are giants, as in *ier*, pygmies; but this seems weak and unaccountable. Others solve much of it into the effect of food and diet, which I believe may be of some power, and efficacy in this matter on this account. Because at Surat, I observed a young *dian* very black, taken into the English service, who by drinking wine and eating flesh, grew paler sensibly than he was before. The strong aliment by a frequent mixture of its lively *ices* with the blood and spirits, which for a long time had been kept low by a phlegmatic nourishment, did actuate and vivify them by degrees, and thereby showed in sometime the effect of their fermentation by a faint varnish upon the face. Besides, it is a remark of the ancients, but not methinks very sound, whereby they took notice, that it is the humidity of the elements, which defends the Indians against that action of the sun, which burns the complexion of the Negroes, and makes their hair grow like cotton; whereas some of the Indians, whose hair is long and uncurled, live as near the equator, and endure as intense a heat as the Hotantots and several Negroes of Africa, whose hair is crisp and frizled. And therefore something must be added besides the sun's heat, for distinction of complexion and of hair under the same parallels. Lewenhoeck observes that the blood of the Negroes is of a different texture from ours. And Malpighi observed a small membrane

not transparent between the cutis and cuticula, which caused the blackness.

The Hotantots are as squalid in their bodies, as they are mean and degenerate in their understandings. For they are far from being curious either in their food or attire, any further than what they find nature reaches forth to them. They think it a needless toil to spend time in dressing of the hides of bulls, or in spinning and weaving the wool of sheep, for ornaments and covering to their bodies. They are satisfied with the same wrought garments that nature has clad the sheep with, and therefore without more labour or art, they take them from the backs of the sheep, and put them presently upon their own, and so they walk with that sheep-skin mantle about their shoulders, or sometimes thrown like a hood over their heads, which seem to be the ancientest garments, according to Gen. 2.21. unto Adam and his wife did the Lord make coats of skins. They generally turn the wool inwards, that the outside of the garment may defend them from rain, and the inside from the impressions of cold. The ornaments about their heads are small shells, or little pieces of lead or iron fastened to their frizled hair, or put into their ears. The hair of their heads, and all their bodies are besmeared with kitchen-grease, though never so stinking and loathsome, which when dissolved and heated by their bodies, sends from thence such an unsavoury smell, as may be scented at a furlong's distance, and nearer hand it never fails of a strong emetic to a weak stomach. Stinking grease is their sweet oil, and the dust of the streets the powder of their hair. They anoint their bodies to render their nerves supple and active, and to fortify the pores against the violence of the ambient air. For they are both nimble and swift of foot, and of courage to outface and worst a lion. Before their nakedness hangs a small skin about a foot broad, tied by a string about their middle, which the motion of their bodies, or of the air, sometimes turns aside.

The apparel of the women upon the upper part of the body is the same with the men's; but round their legs are twisted sheep's guts two or three inches thick, which are serviceable upon a double account, both for food and ornament. The guts, which are made more savoury by the dirt which sticks

to them, affords them as good a meal as the flesh of the sheep and are eaten with as good a gusto.

The huts they dwell in, which are made of bulrushes, or branches of trees, are fashioned round almost like a beehive reaching about five foot high, and nine broad, with a small passage in the side to creep in at, and a hole in the middle for the fire.

They disallow polygamy in all, but in their chief, who may entertain three wives at once. And the kind wives, after the death of every husband, if they marry again, cut off a joint from the little finger, and proceed to the middle, if they be many. The same is imitated by some fond indulgent husbands but on neither of them is there any incumbent necessity, or as they are led by humour at those times.

The male children at eight or ten years of age, are cut their privy parts, and deprived of one of their testicles. The same is likewise done at Cape Comoron, for increasing their valour and activity. But here, I believe upon another score, viz. the prevention of a too luxuriant increase by generation; because when their children increase beyond their desires, and the number which they design, to prevent a heavier charge upon the parents, they dispatch the supernumeraries to the other world, without any remorse for the horrid crime, or consciousness of the execrable sin of murder, which is the reason they presume, of the Hotantot's losing part of their virility, they may debilitate that native heat, which powerfully promotes them to propagation. This barbarity has prevailed among much politer people than the Hotantots, even the Chinese who hold a transmigration, and allege this reason for killing their children, when they abound with them, which is, to let them spring up the more happy. When the king of Siam has any design upon the honour or estate of a mandarin or great commander, he causes him to undergo a total castration that their titles and riches, for want of issue, may fall in lands.

There is a vulgar opinion which has formerly been received that the natives of this Cape were hermaphrodites, which is founded only upon conjecture; for two gentlemen, who were resolved not to be liable to this error, assured me the repe-

false, upon the curiosity they had of knowing the reason of it, which was because the female parts were cut in the fashion of small teats hanging down.

Those that can be induced to labour, and undergo any toil among the Hotantots, are made slaves of by the Dutch, and employed in all servile drudgeries. But their native inclination to idleness and a careless life, will scarce admit of either force or rewards for reclaiming them from that innate lethargic humour.

Their common answer to all motives of this kind, is, that the fields and woods afford plenty of necessaries for their support, and nature has amply provided for their subsistence, by loading the trees with plenty of almonds, which grow in the forests, and yield them food; and by dispersing up and down many wholesome brooks and pure rivulets to quench their thirst: So that there is no need of work, when such innocent diet offers itself daily without pains, and on which they can live without care. And thus many of them idly spend the years of a useless restive life. But the governor of the fort, and several Dutch inhabitants of the town prevail upon some of them, and make converts of them to labour and hardships. Thus the Hotantots have degenerated into the strangest kind of rationals, and have successively survived the noble and common instincts of humanity; but in their innocence of life, the customs of the ancient Britains did in many things resemble the inhabitants of this promontory, in their drinking water, and the simplicity of their food, which was upon acorns or berries, or such natural productions; sometimes upon milk, or what they could gain by hunting. A great part of their bodies too was uncovered, especially their arms and legs, and their clothing was the same with that of the Hotantots, made generally of the skins of beasts.

The third thing observable at the Cape, was the profit and advantage which that plantation affords the Dutch. As this climate is most delightful, and the native turf capable of producing anything that may administer either to the exigence or delight of man, so is it suited with the greatest convenience imaginable to the important negotiations of the Dutch, whose ships that design for India, and those that return from thence to Holland, are refreshed here with all conveniences, as in the midway between those two distant regions.

The industry of the Hollanders has enlarged their borders so far upon the mainland of this delightful fertile Cape, that were they ever put to those straits as to be forced to decamp, and leave their native country, here they might fix in a soil of so much more desirable habitation, that they might thank the fates that caused the change, and bless the authors of their misery. Here they might live without any danger of the seas encroaching upon their banks, to threaten continually a second deluge, and free from all dread of invasion from any neighbouring land-tyrant. And might spread themselves over spacious plains, which would afford them work sufficient for all their husbandry, and pastures pleasant and large enough for all their cattle. And because nothing can please these people so much as trade and traffic, therefore here they might find convenient harbours for their ships, by which they might keep up their spirit of merchandizing, and establishing their commerce to the Indies and other parts of the world. The refugees of France, who are received here with the same privilege the Dutch enjoy, acknowledge the happiness of their transportation, and boast that their misfortunes are turned into their felicity, since they are blessed here with peaceable dwellings and kind accommodations, who had not formerly where in safety to lay their heads.

The encouragements of such as come hither to cultivate the land for their own livelihood and benefit of the grand proprietors, is thus stated, as I understood it. Those that design to settle here, are allowed their transportation from Holland gratis. After their arrival they are invited to range and view the country, and survey such parts as lie wild and unmanured, where they may choose such a portion as they are able to stock and manure, and will yield them a commodious settlement for their families. This is to be a patrimony entailed upon their children, without any rent or other acknowledgment to the Dutch East India Company, but the sale of their goods to the governor, and at his price. This by the way presses hard upon the tenants and keeps them under, by running the chief profits of what they possess into the company's hands. The governor and council agree with the country-man for his goods and cattle at a very low rate, and sell them again to the ships that put in there, as dear as they please; because all men are strained from vending any

commodities to strangers without the council's leave. But however the industrious planters want neither plenty of wine for their tables, nor variety of tame and wild fowls for their ordinary entertainments, of which they have often rather too much store than any scarcity, because the company has no occasion for them, and therefore they lie dead upon their hands. Some upon this account quit the place, and very few of any substance but easilier may increase their goods than their treasure.

Those whose poverty renders them unable to stock their land, the kindness of the governour provides with necessaries till their abilities can reach a payment. Which has mightily increased the number of inhabitants within a few years. For whereas about nine years since, they could scarce reckon above four or five hundred planters, they can now number almost as many thousands; abundance of whom were sent hither by the French persecution, who are much delighted with the convenience of their dwelling.

They have stretched their plantations in the country above seventy-five English miles, and see still a vast space of untilld land before them. In this district they rear their cattle, sow their corn, plant vines, and sedulously improve all things of worth to the best advantage. So that within the revolution of a few years, many valuable commodities will be exported thence, to the other quarters of the universe. Their very wines, in which they will suddenly increase both to a great plenty and variety, are now able to supply their ships, and to furnish the Indies with some quantity, where they sell it by the bottle at a rupee. It is coloured like rhenish, and therefore they pass it under that specious name in India, but the taste of it is much harder and less palatable; its operations are more searching, and the strength of it more intoxicating and offensive to the brain.

The impositions which are laid upon wine and other liquors that are sold by retail, seem almost incredible, especially when the small number of people that are presumed to drink them, is considered. For in the town of the Cape are not reckoned above 500 inhabitants, besides those that are brought in ships and come out of the country; and yet the annual impost upon Europe beer and wine is four thousand gilders; upon Cape wine four thousand one hundred; and brandy, arak, and

distilled waters, pay twenty thousand guilders yearly to the governor of the place for a licence to sell them. All which taxes summed together, make up above twenty-eight thousand guilders yearly, which according to our accounts, raise between two and three thousand pounds, for the liberty of selling liquors by retail. This exorbitant fine upon the taverns and tipling houses makes them exact extravagant rates from the guests that drink the liquor, who are indeed the people that pay it. For he that resolves to drink brandy must pay at the rate of ten shillings a bottle for it; and the Cape wine which in the cask is sold for less than sixpence a quart, is in the tavern half a crown, and such proportionably are the excessive prices of the rest. A tame submission is the only remedy for these impositions, from which there is no appeal or relief, which is apt to embitter the lives of the people, nor can any be very happy, who are subject to the tyranny of a government that is under no restraint. The arbitrary proceedings of the Dutch commissaries in India, have been much resented, and have likewise raised loud complaints against them by the injured factors, but have met with very little redress.

The governor of the Cape, Min Heer Simon Vanderstel, labours much in improvements and accommodations for the inhabitants and seamen, and to render it valuable to the company. The sailors are well furnished with fresh water and fresh provisions; and in the bay is caught great store of fish, which is pickled and put up in barrels, and sent home instead of pickled herrings. The watering for ships is contrived with such convenience, that it is scarce equalled by any in the world. For from the mountains are conveyed in narrow channels clear water down to the shore, from whence in leaden pipes it is carried above forty foot in the sea, and there raised so high above its surface, that the ship's long-boats can row under the pipes, and fill their vessels with much ease.

The famed garden abundantly supplies the ships with variety of roots and green herbs, which contribute not a little to the health, and even preservation of life, in these tedious eastern voyages. Here is that variety of excellent fruits, of pulse and roots, which either Europe, or Asia afford. Here are those large walks, those stately hedges, and alleys of cypres, and beds of



flowers, which make it beautiful and pleasant as the garden of a prince, and useful as that of a peasant. The conveniencies it abounds with may denominate it a kitchen garden, but its delights a garden of pleasure. It is of large extent, at some distance from the high mountains, but cut out upon a rising hill, watered with pure springs descending from the mountains, which make their passage through various channels that are cut out in every quarter. The garden in all its walks is kept so very neat and clean, that even in the winter season, scarce a leaf is seen upon the ground. The trees are curiously pruned, and the hedges trimmed with such exactness, that no one irregular excrescence appears, or branch shooting out beyond his fellow. Much of the fruit in it comes to maturity twice a year, and many trees by their nearness to the sun, are verdant and beautiful all the year. Three and thirty slaves, besides Europeans, are daily employed in looking after it. This forced a confession, even from the Jesuits, in their Siam voyage, of allowing it an equality, if not precedence, to their most celebrated gardens they had in France.

That the inhabitants might be subject to no surprisal from any enemies nigh their plantations, the governor with a few attendants and victuals necessary for such an enterprize, travelled by compass for several weeks, to find its northerly bounds and situation, till he was stopped by impassable mountains, which forced a return from any farther progress that way. In this journey he travelled over vast tracts of land, very fit for agriculture, but all waste and untilled; and was very well satisfied, that those inaccessible heights of mountains which he saw, would stand as immoveable bulwarks against all inland invasions; so that nothing was to be dreaded, but attacks upon them from the sea.

For their defence from any onsets by water, is built a strong fort near the sea, with bastions and guns mounted for its security, and officers and soldiers to guard it from an enemy. It is beautified with stately convenient lodgings within; as well as fortified without.

Near the fort is a small town, consisting of about an hundred houses; strong and neatly built with stone walls and pretty apartments.

The present governor, who lives with his council in the fort, is a very kind and knowing person, is maintained in grandeur, and lives honourably. His public table wants no plenty either of European or African wines, or Asian liquors; and whatever the land or water, or air affords in that place, is served up in his hountiful entertainments. To complete the magnificence of which sumptuous fare, all the dishes and plates upon the board are made of massy silver. And before the departure of their fleets, the Dutch commanders are all invited to a public repast, where they drink and revel, bouze and break glasses, what they please; for these frolics are the very life of a skipper; and the governor by indulging these wild licentious humours, ingratiates with them more, than by anything else he could devise.

I have now considered the situation and air of this pleasant promontory; the nature and customs of the Hotantots; and the profit and convenience which this plantation affords the Dutch; and should now leave it, only a passage or two may divert the reader, which happened while I was there.

While we stayed here, we met with three Spaniards, who came from the Moneiloes to Batavia, and from thence embarked upon a Dutch ship that was loosing from thence to the Cape. The principal of these Spaniards was sent out privately by the K. of Spain, in the employment of visitor general. He was free in his discourse, and not easily warmed into passion, and could well discern both other men's failings and dissemble his own. But he was very zealous in proselyting all he discoursed with, with the assurance of ease and wealth in Spain while they lived, and immortal happiness after death. But he corrupted his parts by false maxims, which he borrowed from an insufferable pride, which not being contradiction proof, could not well bear opposition from an heretic.

This ancient gentleman was hot in converting us by his arguments, whilst another young one endeavoured it mightily by his relics, which were hung in a small box about his neck, and were sacred preservatives against all perils and misfortunes. They were such as these. A piece of St. Leonards thumb, of St. Peter's nail, and a little of St. Bridgets hair. Which things though they seemed to us inconsiderable, yet were of value and

esteem for those excellencies that were found in them. For as barbarous nations commenced civil upon their enfranchisement at ancient Rome; so things contemptible and profane, become august and sacred by their adoption into the Romish Church. However the relics had as little charm in them towards us, as the arguments. But at length the young gentleman produced a tambac ring, which I knew was accounted a valuable rarity in the east. This tambac is a kind of metal, whose scarcity renders it more valuable than gold; as the Corinthian brass had its price augmented by its rarity. It is thought to be a kind of natural compound of gold, silver, and brass, and in some places the mixture is very rich, as at Borneo, and the Moneiloes, in others more allayed, as at Siam. But it is much more remarkable for its virtues against all noxious blasts, from the unhappy effects of which it effectually preserves him that wears it. This is commonly ascribed to it in India, and thus far received a confirmation, that very lately some persons walking abroad there, were blasted on a sudden, among whom, those that wore those rings were saved, and the rest killed. And to preserve me from such misfortunes, the gentleman was pleased to afford me one of them. Our president at Surat was presented while I was there with a knife haft of this metal, which was thought a noble gift.

At the same time a German physician, who had travelled for ten years in the east, brought with him from China the Root Nisan, a pound of which sells there for two hundred and seventy dollars. It is frequently used in sickness, especially deliquiums of the spirit, which recommends it mightily to the king and his nobility. He was afraid of its decay before he could arrive in Holland, and left it therefore to try its fortune at the Cape, as an additional ornament to that spacious and pleasant garden. Yet it is affirmed, that this soil was no stranger to this root, before that this was planted here.

We sailed from the Cape on the 2nd of June, 1693, in the company of ten Dutch East-India ships bound for Europe, and on the 4th of July made Ascention.

## THE ISLAND ASCENTION

TO THE westward of St. Helena, appear the Isles of Sancta Maria, and of the Trinity, uninhabited, and serve for signs unto the mariners. To the n. west of this island, towards the coast of Brasil, is the Isle of Ascension, so denominated by Tristan Acunna its first discoverer, who in his return from the Indies, in the year 1508, spied it upon Ascension Day. It lies towards the coast of South America; is extended in length about four leagues, in breadth one, and distant from America about 100.

This is made generally a place of refreshment to the East-India ships, homeward bound, lying in about 8 degrees of south latitude, directly in their way for England. The land is mountainous, as most other lands are that are situate remotely from the continent. And excepting some very few places, it is all sterile and desert, and the surface cinereous, covered with a kind of sinders or ashes, which gives occasion to some, of thinking it formerly to have been a Fogo or Burning Island: Yet in some parts the soil seems fit for culture and fructification. But because it is wholly destitute of springs and fresh water, this prevents all design of any inhabitants fixing there, though the native turf were never so promising and fruitful. However it affords some accommodation and refreshment for ships tending towards Europe, to which also it gives a very safe and convenient harbour.

The most inviting stay for ships here, are the store of turtle with which the island abounds, some of which are grown to four or five hundred weight, but others are of less dimensions; on these the hungry mariners feed deliciously, for the space of ten or 15 days sometimes together. They esteem it no less nourishing and healthful, than delightful, nor need they incur the danger of any surfeit by the plenty of this dainty food; but chronical distempers, and inveterate diseases, have by this sort of diet been often abated; and those unwelcome guests by a constant use of the food, have been forced to withdraw from their old accustomed habitations. The purgative quality in

which it ends, carries away the disease with it, and repairs the body to its former strength and constitution.

Besides these, here are birds in great quantity, but very unpalatable, and so distasteful to the sailors, that they rarely touch them; by which usage they are kept in a gentle tameness and familiarity, and never stir from their nests for fear, of any passenger's approach, but sit billing and pecking at such as pass by. Among these the boobies are most numerous, a fowl so stupidly tame, that it freely endures to be touched and handled, without any timorousness or fear.

Some few goats are also left here, a creature of such a thriving nature, that it finds nourishment many times from what no other of the animal generations can subsist on; and therefore in India sustain themselves by grazing on the milk-bush, the ordinary hedge of that country, the juices of which are so malignant and corrosive, that the tender parts of man's body are highly offended by the very touch. The goats grow not much in flesh upon this island, because the leanness of the ground, and want of moisture, allow them no more than a bare subsistence, which yet secure their lives from the violence of famine and of the mariners.

The method made use of in taking the turtle, is carefully to observe those particular times they come on shore, to lay or hatch their eggs, at which times they turn them by surprisal upon their backs, which is a posture they are utterly unable to recover from, and are thereby frustrated of all defence or escape, and are a ready prey to any that resolves to seize them. When the sensible creatures find themselves in this desperate posture, by which they know themselves in a lost and hopeless state, they then begin to lament their condition in many heavy sighs, and mournful groans, and shed abundance of water from their eyes, in hopes, if possible, to secure their safety by their tears, and mollify the cruel assaults upon their lives. They are of celebrated strength, much beyond the proportion of their bulk, so much that I have seen one of a small size, not above eight inches broad, able to sustain the weight of a man. And the inward strength of their animal spirits is equal to that of their outward contexture, which is not easily abated or dissolved. For after the neck of one of these had been quite cut

off, except only a small piece of skin by which it hung to the body; and after its bowels were ripped up, and its heart was taken out, and placed upon the deck of the ship, it both opened its mouth, and the heart for a long time after had a motion; which some of the spectators affirmed would continue for the space of two or three hours; and some of them have been known to live twelve hours after their heads have been cut off. The parts of reptiles continue, I think, animated for some considerable time after they are dissected from one another, because of the viscidious quality of their animal spirits, but for the heart of so large an animal as this, to move for some hours after it was torn from the body, seems a little more strange and surprising. However, I made this experiment myself upon a cockroach, which is a sort of large unwieldy fly, whose spirits may be presumed to be most volatile, the head of which I severed from the body, and kept it apart in a small box for twenty-four hours, after which time looking on it, I saw it perfectly move some parts, but with a very faint slowness. As we see the flesh of a viper, after it is beheaded and emboweled, will move for the space of 24 hours.

Of the turtle or marine tortoise, there are three sorts, the hawk-bill, the loggerhead, and the green turtle, which swim in the water, and creep upon land. It is of such an amphibious nature, that you may fancy it beast, or bird, or fish, as you please; for it lives in the ocean like a fish; it feeds upon grass on shore, as an ox; and lays eggs, as a bird, sometimes the quantity of a bushel. The two fins of it placed before, are in the shape of wings; those two behind are broad and long like feet, and its head and eyes, which it opens and shuts, resemble those of a hawk; so that both in its shape and other qualities, the body of it is divided among those creatures whose proper elements are land, water, and air. The flesh of it is white, and eats beyond any veal, and admirably contributes to the cure of the scurvey, and as it is commonly affirmed, the impure disease. But the Dutch, notwithstanding the delicacy, will not touch it; and the barbarity of the French, after they have been satiated with their plenty, exposes them to starve and stink above ground, by leaving many of them turned upon their backs, upon their departure from the island. The English

treat none cruelly, but turn only such as are necessary for their refreshment, being loath to express a severity to the very beasts, especially such whose deaths contribute so considerably to the health, and support of their own lives. Great plenty of these shellfish are found in the West Indies, the genitals of which dried, and drunk in wine, are prescribed as singular dissolvers of the stone. The store of them upon this island, where so little herbage grows, seems to supply the necessity of green herbs for curing the scorbutic humours in the mariners, to which nothing does contribute more, as we happily experimented in the voyage. For three or four French Vineroons designed for St. Helena, were so lamentably overrun with the scurvey, after we had spent two or three months at sea, that they were unable either to walk or stand upright; and yet three days eating of purslain and other herbs, after we were landed in Africa, rectified the ill humours in the blood, restored their limbs, and recovered their stomachs and lost health again. And were those made more frequently the diet of these that live on land, as they are sometimes of those at sea, I doubt not but the scorbutic humours, and all that train of diseases that follows them, would be less numerous and prevailing than they are.

Upon this island is a certain place named the Post-Office, from the letters left there by the last commander that came thither, giving an account of the time he came there, when he departed from the island, and what other news of moment he thinks convenient. The letter is commonly thrust into a bottle corked close, which the succeeding commander breaks in pieces to come to it, and leaves another in its stead. But I will leave this barren island, and proceed on the voyage.

About the middle of our passage from the Cape to Europe, the captain commandant of the fleet called a council of all the commanders, and then enjoined a particular day to be set apart by every ship, as a public thanksgiving for our past safety, and for imploring the favour and benediction of heaven upon the fleet for the rest of the voyage; and desired from me a form of prayer, which was translated into Dutch for that purpose. This was a pitch of piety, which well became his care and station, but was far beyond the common strain

of a sailor's devotion, I doubt not but it was very instrumental in our avoiding those threatening dangers that encompassed us in our voyage, and from which we had a very fortunate deliverance to Europe. For besides the storm which increased to such a rage, and on a sudden grew so insupportable and fierce, that it separated the whole fleet, and every ship was forced to make the best of her way for her own safety; the Benjamin, besides this, had another deliverance as happy, which was in her escape from two French privateers, the one a head, the other a stern, by the commander, Captain Leonard Brown's prudent management of himself in that juncture. For having formerly shortened sail, in hopes that one of them might be our friend, as soon as ever he discerned they were the enemy, he ordered all hands aloft, and commanded the sails to be spread in a trice, by which he made them suppose, that our ship was very well manned, and that we must therefore needs be a man of war. This stratagem had its desired effect, for upon it they both left us; though the next day following, they took a stout fourth rate, the Diamond Frigate.

On September the 18th 1693, we came into Kingsale in Ireland, where, as a testimony of our gratitude to our great deliverer in the voyage, the captain, officers, and sailors, contributed amongst them, betwixt twenty and thirty pounds, part of which, about four pounds, was designed as a small oblation to the minister, and the rest was given to the poor of the place. Which was to be recorded by a public inscription in the church, as an encouragement to others to imitate the precedent that was given them.

The English welcomed us on shore with many generous civilities, and showed to us the ancient temper of the English nation, in their frank hospitality, and the spirit of liberal entertainments. Though they lately smarted with intestine broils, yet now they were at peace, were unanimously loyal, and universally kind, not sown'd with faction, nor grown sordid by covetousness, but here we found that love and allegiance which seemed indeed to be the genius of all the Protestants of that kingdom. After we had stayed here five weeks, for want of a convoy, we at last set sail, and on the 5th of December arrived safe at Gravesend.



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# INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Being an account of the Two Voyages to  
India by Ovington and Thevenot. To which  
is added the Indian Travels of Careri

Vol. II

## THE VOYAGES OF THEVENOT AND CARERI

*Edited with an Introduction by*

J. P. GUHA



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# Introducing Thevenot and Careri

by J. P. Guha

IN THE seventeenth century India was visited by many European travellers. Some came to do quiet trade, others in search of a career, and yet others to satisfy their *wanderlust*. But to such men as Tom Coryat, the German Mandeslo, and the Italian Pietro della Valle foreign travel was part of their education and experience—it was, indeed, one of the great *wanderjahre* of cultural history. All of them travelled wide plains of Asiatic countries, the first, it is said, left not “a pillar or tombe nor ould character unobserved” from Aleppo to Ajmir. These travellers have left valuable information and their accounts, though not always infallible, are none the less valuable. Thevenot and Careri belong to this class of travellers.

Jean de Thevenot was a French traveller. He was born at Paris on the 6th June, 1633, and died in Persia near the small town of Miana on the 28th November, 1667, at an early age of thirty-four. During the brief span of life he travelled far and wide in Europe, Asia, and Africa than many of his contemporaries in Europe. Thevenot had strong and deep passion for travel, implanted in him by nature, developed in him by his uncle whose name was Melechisedech de Thevenot. Though not a great traveller himself, Melechisedech was the compiler of exhaustive accounts of famous travels.<sup>1</sup> The young Thevenot read his uncle's book and dreamt of visiting those “distant climes” and seeing them with his own eyes.

Thevenot's voyage to India was undertaken when he left Paris in 1664 after completing his first trip to the East which

<sup>1</sup> The exact title is: *Relations of diverse curious voyage hitherto unpublished which have been translated or extracted from the original works of French, Spanish, German, Portuguese, Dutch, Persian, Arab and other Travellers.*

he had planned in 1655. The voyage to India was begun when Thevenot boarded the *Hopewell* at Basra on the 6th November, 1665. The boat was commanded by an Italian, Captain Bernardo. Thevenot landed at Surat on Sunday, the 10th January, 1666. From Surat he went to Ahmedabad and Cambay and thence to Masulipatam on the eastern coast passing through Burhanpur, Aurangabad, and Golconda. On his way he visited the rock-cut temples of Ellora. Of his visit to the temples of Ellora, Selley has remarked in *Wonders of Ellora*: "M. Thevenot was but two hours inspecting them and speaks of his fear in passing under the excavated mountains. Without wishing to detract from the merit of former travellers I must observe, that from personal observation I have discovered much inaccuracy and occasionally wilful exaggeration." How do we judge this criticism? While we may agree with Selley that Thevenot's description is somewhat vague and inaccurate,—and that is because he stayed at the temple site for only two hours—, yet it may be said that Thevenot was not alone in his error. Even to an avowed *Kunstforscher* well versed in Indian iconography it takes days, nay months, to correctly identify a Hindu or a Buddhist icon. It should also be remarked that when Thevenot visited Ellora Indian iconography was not known to the Westerners.

By the end of 1666 Thevenot came back to Surat and sailed for Bandar Abbas to reach France but he died in Persia before he could reach his home-town. The voyages of Thevenot came out in successive parts from 1664 to 1684. The first English translation by A. Lovel was printed at London in 1687 by H. Clark for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes, and T. Newborough, Booksellers in St. Paul's churchyard. It consisted of three parts: (i) Turkey (ii) Persia and (iii) The East Indies. The last part contains "The Relation of Indostan, the New Moguls and of other people and countries of the Indies" which is to be found in the first part of this reprint.

The second part of the reprint contains the travels of Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri who was born at Radicena (Calabria) in Italy in 1651 and died at Naples, when death came to him at a ripe old age in 1725, unlike Thevenot. Careri was a student of jurisprudence and practised law. That he was learned in both is evidenced by the fact that the university

conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law. After practising law for a few years Careri left home to travel abroad. Like Thevenot he decided to travel in Europe first visiting France, England, Belgium, Hungary, and Germany. He returned home in 1689. But he could not stay long at home possibly because he was subjected to persecution and ill-treatment in his family. To brace his spirit he undertook an eastward voyage. For coming to India Careri took a boat for Daman on the 26th of November from Bandar Congo arriving at Daman on the 10th January, 1695. Then he went to Bassein where he was invited by the Superior of the Jesuites to resume his legal practice. But Careri was the more inclined to travel.

First he visited the Buddhist caves at Kanheri. Though not the first European to visit Kanheri, he was certainly the first European to give the detailed description of the caves in minute details. Like Thevenot, Careri also went wrong in identifying the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. From Kanheri he went to Goa and thence to Golconda in order to have an audience with Aurangzeb which he obtained through the good offices of the Christian soldiers in the Mogul army. Careri had his audience with Aurangzeb at Galgala, where the Great Mogul was then encamped to exterminate the "mountain rat". Careri has left a good account of the Mogul Emperor. Having admired the Emperor, Careri returned to Goa and embarked for China.

In China he visited Macao, Canton, Nanking, and Peking. From China he left for Mexico by a Spanish galleon and on the 4th June, 1698, he reached Cadiz to turn homewards. Thus Careri completed his voyages round the world which, according to his calculation, took him five years five months and twenty days. Returning home he revised his journal which appeared in 1699-1700 in six volumes under the title *Giro del Mondo*. Within four years of publication of the Italian text an English version appeared in Awnsham and John Churchill's *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704). That Careri's journal was a good hit is proved by the fact that the subsequent editions of that collection appeared in 1732, 1744, 1745, and 1752. Though Careri's journal was popular, the critics were not forward to bestow encomiums on him. They say that Careri had never been to the court of Peking and that his accounts of travels were all bor-

rowed. The latter charge can be dismissed by saying that Careri acknowledges his indebtedness to his predecessors like Maffiacus, Thevenot, Tavernier, Bernier, and Teixeira. With regard to the former charge we ought to say that a critic has to prove his case as soon as he passes a judgment, and he cannot do it merely by issuing judgments *ex cathedra*. Anyone, I believe who reads the minute descriptions of the objects which Careri gives, say, for example, his audience with Aurangzeb, is ready to recognize that such descriptions are possible to write only if the writer were a man of acute observation and we know Careri to be an acute observer and that his accounts of Chinese travel is neither an imitation nor a plagiarism.

But to say this is not to say that whatever Careri had written as well as Thevenot was invariably based on personal observations. There are much in their journals that are based on hearsay. Thevenot's reference to *murdakhors* or the anthropophagi is not the result of his observation but due to his acquaintance with classical authors like Strabo, Pliny and others. Again, when he says that the Emperor Jehangir "was interred in a garden" of Agra we may be sure that he could not have seen that curious garden. Likewise Careri's identification of the saffron plant with the *Arbore Trists* of Goa is as absurd as Thevenot's statement that the musk deer's habitat is the province of Ajmer.

Though both Thevenot and Careri were punctiliously careful and correct in maintaining their journals, though they were not wanting in character and self-control, the *virtus verusque labour* so necessary for every kind of good work and indispensable for a writer, the travel accounts of Thevenot and Careri none the less suffer from inaccuracies. And that is because they had no access to authentic chronicles. They had to depend mostly on gossip and secondhand information. Yet we must concede that the accounts of Thevenot and Careri are in many respects more valuable than those of the chroniclers of the court. They could freely record their impressions and observations whereas the chroniclers had to write under duress for they could not be free from "official frowns and favours". It is because of this reason, if for no other reason, that the Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri are valuable as a contemporary source of Indian history.

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# BOOK I

THE THIRD PART OF THE TRAVELS

OF

MR. de THEVENOT

CONTAINING THE RELATION OF INDOSTAN  
THE NEW MOGULS AND OF OTHER PEOPLE  
AND COUNTRIES OF THE INDIES

## 1. ARRIVAL AT SURAT

I SET out from Basra in the ship Hopewel, the sixth of November, 1665, six days before the beginning of the monsoon, and the tenth of January 1666, arrived at the Bar of Surat; so that I had above two months' voyage of it. That place which is about six French leagues from Surat, is called, the Bar, because of the many sand-hanks that hinder great ships from entering the river, before they be unloaded; and the proper season for sailing on the Indian Sea, is called Mousson or Monson, by corruption of Moussem I have mentioned in the second part of my Travels, that that season wherein there is a constant trade-wind upon that sea, begins commonly at the end of October; that it lasts to the end of April, and that that is the time to go from Persia to the Indies, if one would avoid the tempests.

Next day, being the eleventh, about half an hour after two o'clock in the morning, I went with the rest of the passengers into a boat, and at eight at night we arrived before Surat, near to the custom-house, where coming to an anchor, I past the night in the boat; and next day, the twelfth of January, about ten of the clock in the morning the custom-house being open, our boat upon the signal given, put in to land as near as it could: From thence we were carried ashore upon men's backs, who came up to the middle in the water to take us up, and immediately we were led into a large court; having crossed it, we entered into a hall, where the customer waited for us, to have us searched.

Visited we were; but in so severe and vexatious a manner, that though I did expect it and had prepared myself for it before hand, yet, I had hardly patience enough to suffer the searchers to do whatsoever they had a mind to, though I had nothing about me but my clothes; and indeed, it is incredible what caution and circumspection those people use to prevent being cheated. And in this manner they proceed.

So soon as a ship comes to an anchor at the Bar, the master is obliged to go ashore in his boat, and acquaint the custom-house with his arrival, and presently he is searched from head

to foot, at the same time a waiter is sent on board the vessel, to hinder them from breaking bulk, running anything ashore, or on board another ship that hath been already searched; and in the meantime, if they have still time enough, they send off several barks to bring the men and goods ashore to the custom-house. The waiter has for his dues from every passenger an abassi which is worth about eighteen pence; and the bark has half a rupee a head, that is, about fifteen pence for the passage. If when the passengers come to the town, the custom-house be not as yet shut, they presently come ashore, but if it be, they must tarry in the bark: In the meanwhile it is never open but from ten in the morning till noon, and it requires a whole tide to come from the Bar to the town, unless by good luck one have the wind and tide with him.

Seeing the rest of the day and all the following night are to be spent in the bark, waiters are set over it, who keep constant watch to see that none enter in or go out. When the custom-house is opened, and the passengers suffered to come ashore, then double diligence is used, and the number of waiters increased. One bark advances at a time, and the lands just against the custom-house gate which is upon the key.

There is a Kiosk, or covered pavilion, where sentinels are placed to observe and view all that goes in or comes out of the bark; and the custom-house porters go into the water, and bring the men and goods ashore upon their backs.

In the meantime, there are upon the river-side, a great number of peons, who are men ready to be employed in any kind of service, and to be hired by the day, if one pleases, as the Staffieri in Italy are. These peons of the custom-house have great canes in their hands to keep off the people with, that those who come ashore may not have the least communication with anybody; and for the greater security, they draw up in both sides, and make a lane for the passengers. This is no inconsiderable service to newcomers, for if anybody came near them, they would certainly be accused of smuggling goods, and then besides the caning they would be exposed to, they must also expect to be roundly fined, and some have been fined in above ten thousand livres, though, in reality they had not saved a bit of goods. And, indeed, they who have

a mind to conceal anything, and defraud the custom-house, order their affairs more truly: They stay not till they come to Surat, there to beg the assistance of their friends. I have known some bring in a great many precious stones, and other rich jewels, which the officers of the custom house never saw, nor got one farthing by, because the Dutch commander was their friend, and had assisted them.

From that court of the custom-house, one is led into the hall, where the chief customer sits on his divan, after the manner of the Orientals, and his clerks underneath him. I shall say nothing of the Indian divans in this place, because they are like to those of Turkey and Persia. The passengers enter into that place one after another, and but one at a time. Presently they write down in a register the name of him that enters, and then he is searched. He must take off his cap or turban, his girdle, shoes, stockings, and all the rest of his clothes, if the searchers think fit. They feel his body all over; and handle every the least inch of stuff about him with all exactness if they perceive anything hard in it, they immediately rip it up, and all that can be done, is to suffer patiently. That search is long, and takes up above a quarter of an hour for every person severally, though at that time they only examine what they have about them. If they find gold or silver, they take two and a half per cent and give back the rest, then the party is let go, but must leave his goods and baggage. He that hath been searched marches out by the wicket of a gate that opens into the street, where there is a guard that suffers him not to pass without orders from the customer.

Next day, all who have left their goods or baggage, fail not to come to the same gate. The customer comes also about ten of the clock in the morning, and having considered whether the seal which the day before he put upon two great padlocks that hold the great gate and wicket shut, be whole or not, he causes both to be opened. He and his men go in; the gate is shut again, and the wicket only left open. So all wait without till they be called in; and it was my good fortune to be introduced with the first.

They presently bid me own what belonged to me, and my cloakbags being brought into the middle of the hall, they

were opened and emptied; everything was examined one after another: Though I had no merchant-goods, yet all was searched; my quilt was ripped up, they undid the pommel of one of my pistols, with pegs of iron felt in the holsters; and the clerks at length, being satisfied with the view of my things, I was let go, and paid only custom for my money. It was no small fortune for me to be so soon dispatched; for men may wait sometimes a month before they can get out their baggage, and especially they who have merchant-goods, for which at that custom-house they pay four in the hundred, if they be Christians, and five in the hundred if they be Bannians.

## 2. OF THE INDIES

BEFORE I enter into a particular description of what I have seen in the Indies, it is necessary for the understanding of the country, that I describe the limits thereof, and say somewhat of their extent. If one would comprehend in the Indies all the countries which to the west border on the provinces of Mekran, or Sind, Kandahar and Kabul; to the north, or Tartary; to the east, on China and the sea; and to the south, on the ocean, there is no doubt but that so great a number of kingdoms and provinces must make a very vast country: But it may be truly said, that to the east the extent of it, (which is very large) is not as yet well known, seeing the traders of Indostan, who traffic in China, spend above a year in travelling from their own country into that; and that long journey is a good argument that there are several kingdoms betwixt the Great Mogul's country, and that of the emperor of China.

In the usual division of the Indies, that eastern part is called India beyond the Ganges, as the western is named India on this side of the Ganges. This latter part is best known, and is called Indostan, having for its natural limits to the west and east, the Ganges and Indus, which have their sources in the



mountains of Chagtai and Turquestan. These two last countries border Indostan on the north-side, as the Indian Sea limits it on the south, round the Cape of Comorin, from the mouths of Ganges to those of Indus.

The empire of the Great Mogul which in particular is called Mogulistan is the largest and most powerful kingdom of the Indies; and the forces of the other Kings of Indostan ought the less to be compared to his, that most of them are in some dependence on that prince. I shall write what I know of their kingdoms, when I have treated of his and of himself.

### 3. OF THE GREAT MOGUL

THE Great Mogul descends in direct line from Tamerlan, whose successors that settled in the Indies, took to themselves the name of Moguls, that they might be distinguished from those to whom that prince left Chagtai, Khorasan, Persia, and other countries to be governed after him. They thought that that name might contribute much to the glory of their family, because by taking it they would more easily persuade men, that they are of the race of Chingiz Khan, the first emperor of the ancient Moguls, who had carried it above twelve ages before them, and who under that title began the greatest and most powerful empire in the world.

Mogul was heretofore the name of a mighty people, who inhabited a vast country at the extremity of east Tartary, towards the north, which some have called Mogul, others Mongul and Mongal, and others Mogulistan, where Chingiz Khan was born. That emperor or Great Khan, reduced it wholly under his obedience, before he undertook the conquest of the rest of Asia; and his subjects, as well as he, were called Moguls. This gave occasion to those of India, to take the same name, thereby to signify that they are descended from him.

As for the genealogy of Tamerlan, it must be examined somewhere else than in the relation of Travels, if one would know

the truth of it, because of the diversity of opinions that are to be found amongst the Oriental writers upon that subject.

Tamerlan had already given great jealousy to the Indians, by conquering the province of Ghazni, which had been sometimes in their dependence, though lying a great deal on this side of the Indies, and which in his own lifetime was possessed by Pir Muhammed, son of his eldest son Ghiyasuddin; but when Mirza Babar, who descended from the third son of that emperor, retreated thither after the loss of Maurenahor or Zagatay, he bestirred himself so well in settling his dominion there, as he did in some other countries of the Indies that lay next to him, and were, according to the *Lebeltarie*, (he reigned forty-three years,) that his son Humayun had no great difficulty to get footing in Indostan after the death of his father, which happened in the year 1530, and who had already made some unsuccessful attempts in that country.

This young prince made himself master of Kandahar, Kabul, and many other towns, the greatest part whereof he lost sometime after by the valour of Shah Alam King of Bengale and Deccan; but he recovered them in process of time by the means of Shah Tahmasp Kings of Persia, whoso sister he married, and having carried his conquest farther on, he made Delhi the capital of his kingdom.

His son Akbar succeeded him; and having joined a great many provinces of Indostan to those which his father left him, died in the year 1604.

Selim his eldest son, was immediately crowned by the name of Jahangir; and having reigned three and twenty years, and enlarged the conquest, he died in the year 1627.

After his death, his grandson Bulaqui reigned about three months, but he was strangled by order of Sultan Khurram, a rebel son of Jahangir; who having made sure of the empire, took to himself the name of Shah Jahan in the year 1628.

Seeing blood and rebellion raised him to the throne, he had experience of the same disorders amongst his children, which he had caused to his father; for through their jealousy his empire was almost always in confusion, and at length fell into the hands of Aurangzeb the third of his four sons, who reigns at present.

In mounting to the throne, this prince imitated the crimes of his father; for he put to death Dara his eldest brother, imprisoned Murad his other brother who confided in him, and clapped up his own father in prison, who died five or six years after, about the end of the year 1666.

The Great Mogul is certainly a most powerful prince, as we may judge by his riches, armies, and the number of people that are within the extent of his empire. His yearly revenues, they say, mount to above three hundred and thirty French millions. The qanun-nama, which is a register containing a list of his forces, makes it appear, that that prince entertains three hundred thousand horse, of which betwixt thirty and thirty-five thousand, with ten thousand foot are for a guard to his person both in time of peace and war, and are commonly quartered in those places where he keeps his court. This empire extends from east to west above four hundred leagues, and from north to south above five hundred, and that vast space, (excepting some mountains and deserts,) is so full of towns, castles, burroughs and villages, and by consequence of inhabitants who till the land, or improve it by manufactures, and the commerce which that country affords, that it is easy to judge of the power of the king who is master thereof.

The true bounds of his empire are to the west, Mekran or Sind and Kandahar; to the east, it reaches beyond the Ganges; to the south it is limited by Decan, the great sea and the gulf of Bengale; and to the north by the Tartars. The exaggeration of many travellers, concerning the extent of the countries of this great king of the Indies, was the cause that I made it my business to consult the most knowing men, that I might learn what they thought of the greatness of it, and what now I write is their opinion.

They affirm not as some do, that when the Mogul makes war, he sends three hundred thousand horse into the field. They say, indeed, that he pays so many; but seeing the chief revenues, or to say better, the rewards of the great men, consist particularly in the pay which they have for more or fewer troopers, it is certain that they hardly keep on foot one half of the men they are appointed to have; so that when the Great Mogul marches upon any expedition of war, his army exceeds

not an hundred and fifty thousand horse, with very few foot, though he have betwixt three and four hundred thousand mouths in the army.

Besides, I was informed by any Indian who pretends to know the map of his country, that they reckon no more but twenty provinces within the extent of Mogulistan in the Indies, and that they who have reckoned more, have not been well informed of their number, since of one province they have made two or three.

This Indian had a list of the prince's revenues, calculated for the twenty provinces, and I made no doubt of the truth of his system; but I had rather call them governments, and say that every government contains several provinces. I shall observe the revenues of the governments, in the description I give of them, and shall call each government a province, that I may not vary from the *memoires* which I have; and as I entered the Indies by the province of Gujarat, so I shall describe it before the others.

#### 4. THE PROVINCE OF GUJARAT

THE Province of Gujarat, which was heretofore a kingdom, fell into the possession of the Great Mogul Akbar, about the year 1565. He was called into it by a great lord, to whom the king of Gujarat, Sultan Mahmud gave the general government thereof, when being near his death, he trusted him with the tuition and regency of his only son, in the year 1545, or 1546 during the reign of Humayan the father of Akbar.

The ambition of that governor who was envied by all the great men of the kingdom of Gujarat, that were his declared enemies, and against whom he resolved to maintain himself at the cost of his own lawful prince, made him betake himself to the King Mogul, under pretext of soliciting his protection for his pupil named Muzaffar, who was already of age, but not yet of sufficient authority to maintain his guardian against the faction of the great men whom he had provoked.

Akbar entered Gujarat with an army, and subdued all those who offered to make head against him, and whom the governor accused of being enemies to his king: But instead of being satisfied with one town which with its territories had been promised him, he seized the whole kingdom, and made the king and governor prisoners. That unfortunate prince being never after able to recover it again; not but that having made his escape, he attempted once again to have re-established himself, but his efforts were in vain, for he was overcome, and made prisoner a second time, so that despair at length made him destroy himself.

This is the pleasantest province of Indostan, though it be not the largest. The Narbada, Tapti, and many other rivers that water it, render it very fertile, and the fields of Gujarat look green in all the seasons of the year, because of the corn and rice that cover them, and the various kinds of trees, which continually bear fruit.

The most considerable part of Gujarat is towards the sea, on which the towns of Surat and Cambay stand, whose ports are the best of all Mogulistan. But seeing Ahmedabad is the capital town of the province, it is but reasonable we should treat of it before we speak of the rest.

February the first I parted from Surat to go to that town, and going out at Broach Gate, I marched straight north. Two hours after I crossed the river Tapti, in a boat big enough, but very incommodious for taking in of chariots, because the sides of it were two foot high. Eight men were forced to carry mine, after they had taken out the oxen, and I was about half an hour in crossing that river. I continued my journey by the town of Variao, the river of Kim, which I crossed with the same trouble that I had done the Tapti, by the town Ankleshwar, the river of Narbada, and at length I arrived at the town of Broach, which is distant from Surat and the sea, twenty cosses which makes about ten French leagues, because a cosse which is a measure amongst the Indians for the distance of places, is about half a league.

Broach lies in 21 degrees 55 minutes north latitude. The fortress of Broach is large and square, standing on a hill, which makes it to be seen at a great distance. It is one of the chief

strengths of the kingdom, and had heretofore a very large jurisdiction. The town lies upon the side, and at the foot of the hill, looking towards the river of Narbada. It is environed with stone-walls about three fathom high, which are flanked by large round towers at thirty or thirty-five paces distance one from another. The bazars or market-places are in a great street at the foot of the hill, and there it is that those cotton-stuffs are made, which are called Baftas, and which are sold in so great plenty in the Indies.

The hill being high and hard to be mounted, it might be a very easy matter to put the fortress in a condition not to fear any attack, but at present it is so much slighted, that there are several great breaches in the walls to the land side, which nobody thinks of repairing. In that town there are mosques and pagodas, that is to say, temples of the heathen, as well above as below. The river-water is excellent for whitening of clothes, and they are brought from all parts to be whitened there. There is little or no other trade there, but of agates, but most of those are sold at Cambay. There is great abundance of peacocks in the country about Broach. The Dutch have a factor there for the quick despatch and clearing at the custom-house, the other sorts of clothes that come from Ahmedabad and elsewhere, because since all goods must pay duties as they enter and come out of Broach, there would always happen confusion, if the care of that were referred to the carriers who transport them.

Leaving Broach, I continued my journey northwards, to the little town of Sarbhon, which is seven leagues distant from Broach, and then having crossed the brook Dhadhar, and several villages, I arrived at Dabka which lies on the side of a wood seven leagues from Sarbhon. The inhabitants of this town were formerly such as are called *murdakhor* or anthropophagi, man-eaters, and it is not very many years since man's flesh was there publicly sold in the markets. That place seems to be a nest of robbers; the inhabitants who are for the most part armed with swords, are a most impudent sort of people: In what posture soever you be, they continually stare you in the face, and with so much boldness, that let one say what he pleases to them, there is no making of them to withdraw: Passengers that know them, are always upon their guard, nay,

and are obliged to carry a lance with them, when they go to do their needs.

Next day we parted from thence and went to Petlad, a little town seven leagues and a half from Dabka, and arrived there, having first part the gulf or river of Mahi, where there is a watch to secure the road. We found in our way two great tanks and a great number of monkies of an extraordinary bigness. These tanks are standing ponds or reservations of rain-water; there are many of them in the Indies, and commonly there is great care taken in looking after them, because wells being rare in that country, there is an extreme need of these public reservoirs, by reason of the continual thirst which the heat causes in all animals there, and some of them are as big as lakes or large ponds.

Next we came to the town of Sojitra, where we saw a very lovely well, which I shall not describe in this place, because it is almost like to that of Ahmedabad, whereof I shall speak in its proper place. From thence we went to Matar which is six leagues and a half from Petlad. Upon the road we saw an infinite number of apes of all sorts, not only upon the trees in the fields, but even those also by the wayside, which were not in the least afraid of anybody. I several times endeavoured to make them fly with my arms, but they stirred not, and cried their pou pou like mad, which is, as I think, the houp houp of which Monsieur de la Boulaye speaks.

We went next to Gitbag, five leagues from Matar, we met a great many coolies, which are a people of a caste or tribe of gentiles, who have no fixed habitation, but wander from village to village, and carry all they have about with them. Their chief business is to pick and clean the cotton, and when they have no more to do in one village they go to another. In this village of Jitbagh, there is a pretty handsome garden of the kings: I walked in it; it lies along the side of a reservatory, and I saw a great many monkies and peacocks therein. The dwelling which remains appears to have been handsome, but it is let run to ruin; and a royal-house, not far off, is in very bad repair also. It is but two leagues and a half from Jitbagh to Ahmedabad.

## 5. OF AHMEDABAD

AHMEDABAD is distant from Surat fourscore and six cosses, which make about forty-three French leagues. It is not improbable but that this capital of Gujarat is the Amadavistis of Arrian, though modern writers say, that it hath its name from a king called Ahmed or Amed, who caused it to be rebuilt, and that it was called Gujarat as well as the province, before that king reigned. King Shah Jehan named it Guerdabad, the habitation of dust, because there is always a great deal there. This governor of the province has his residence in it, and he is commonly a son of the Great Mogul; but at present a great Omra called Muhabbat Khan is the governor; and the kings of Gujarat resided there also, before king Akbar seized it.

This town lies in twenty-three degrees and some minutes north-latitude. It is built in a lovely plain, and watered by a little river called Sabarmati, not very deep, but which in the time of the rains prodigiously overflows the plains. There you may see many large gardens, enclosed with brick-walls, and which have all a kind of pavilion at the entry. After that I saw a very spacious reservatory, that hath in the middle a lovely garden fourscore paces square, into which one enters by a bridge four hundred paces long, and at the end of the garden there are pretty convenient lodgings.

Then you see several houses here and there, which makes, as it were, a great village, and a great many tombs indifferently well built. This might be called an out suburbs, because, from thence one enters by a postern into a street with houses on each side, which leads straight into the town, and is on that side the true suburbs of Ahmedabad.

The town is enclosed with stone and brick-walls, which at certain distances are flanked with great round towers and battlements all over. It hath twelve gates, and about a league and a half in its greatest length, if you take in the suburbs. It is one of the places of Gujarat that is most carefully kept in order, both as to its walls and garrison, because it lies most conveniently for resisting the incursions of some neighbouring rajas. They are afraid particularly of the inroads of the Raja



of Bhadwar, who is powerful by reason of the towns and castles which he hath in the mountains, and which are not accessible but by narrow passes that can be most easily defended. King Akbar used all endeavours during the space of seven years to ruin that raja; but he could not accomplish it, and was forced to make peace with him. However his people are always making incursions, and he comes off by disowning them. His usual residence is in the province of Khandesh.

So soon as I arrived at Ahmedabad, I went to lodge in caravanserai, where I found the monument of the wife of a king of Gujarat; After I had taken a little repose there, I went to see the Dutch factors, for whom I had letters from the commander of Surat. They detained me, and no excuse would serve, but that I must needs lodge with them; nay, they were so kind, as to accompany me by turns to all the places of Ahmedabad, wither my curiosity led me: They are lodged in the fairest and longest street of the town. All the streets of Ahmedabad are wide, but this is at least thirty paces over, and at the west end of it there are three large arches that take up its whole breadth.

Going from their lodgings, one enters by these high arches into the Maidan Shah, which signifies the king's square. It is a long square having four hundred paces in breadth, and seven hundred in length, with trees planted on all sides. The gate of the castle is on the west side, opposite to the three arches, and the gate of the caravanserai on the south. On the same side there are six or seven pieces of canon mounted, and on the other, some more great gates which are at the head of pretty fair streets. In this meidan there are several little square buildings about three fathom high, which are tribunals for the kotwal, who is the criminal judge. In the middle of the place there is a very high tree, purposely planted for the exercise of those who learn to shoot with the bow, and who with their arrows strive to hit a ball which for that end is placed on the top of the tree.

Having viewed the Maidan, we entered the castle by a very high gate, which is betwixt two large round towers about eight fathom high. All the apartments of it signify but little, though the castle be walled about with good walls of freestone, and is as spacious as a little town.

The caravanserai in the maidan, contributes much to the beautifying of that place. Its front is adorned with several lodges and balconies supported by pillars, and all these balconies which are of stone, are delicately cut to let in the light. The entry is a large eight-square porch arched over like a dome, where you may find four gates, and see a great many balconies: These gates open into the body of the building, which is a square of freestone two stories high, and varnished over like marble, with chambers on all sides, where strangers may lodge.

Near the maidan, is a palace belonging to the king, which hath over the gate a large balcony for the musicians, who with their pipes, trumpets, and hoboys, come and play there, in the morning, at noon, in the evening, and at midnight. In the apartments thereof there are several ornaments of folliages, where gold is not spared. The English factory is in the middle of the town. They are very well lodged, and have fair courts. Their warehouses commonly are full of the clothes of Lahore and Delhi, with which they drive a great trade.

There are many mosques great and small in Ahmedabad, but that which is called Juma Masjid, Friday's Mosque, because the devout people of all the town flock thither on that day, is the chief and fairest of all. It hath its entry from the same street where the Dutch-house is built, and they go up to it by several large steps. The first thing that appears is a square cloister of about an hundred and forty paces in length, and an hundred and twenty in breadth, the roof whereof is supported by four and thirty pilasters. The circuit of it is adorned with twelve domes, and the square in the middle paved with great square bricks. In the middle of the front of the temple, there are three great arches, and at the sides two large square gates that open into it, and each gate is beautified with pilasters, but without any order of architecture. On the outside of each gate there is a very high steeple, which hath four lovely balconies, from whence the muezins or beadles of the mosque, call the people to prayers. Its chief dome is pretty enough, and being accompanied with several little ones, and two minarets, the whole together looks very pleasant; all that pile is supported by forty-four pillars placed two and two, and the

pavement is of marble. The chair of the Imam is there as in other mosques, but besides that, in a corner to the right hand there is large jube resting upon two and forty pillars eight foot high apiece, which must only have been built to hide the women that go to the mosque, for that jube is closed up as high as the ceiling with a kind of panels of plaster with holes through; and there I saw above two hundred faquirs, who held their arms crossways behind their head, without the least stirring.

Ahmedabad being inhabited also by a great number of heathens, there are pagodas, or idol-temple it it. That which was called the pagoda of Santidas was the chief, before Aurangzeb converted it into a mosque. When he performed that ceremony, he caused a cow to be killed in the place, knowing very well, that after such an action, the gentiles according to their law, could worship no more therein. All round the temple there is a cloister furnished with lovely cells, beautified with figures of marble in relief, representing naked women sitting after the Oriental fashion. The inside roof of the mosque is pretty enough, and the walls are full of the figures of men and beasts; but Aurangzeb, who hath always made a show of an affected devotion, which at length raised him to the throne, caused the noses of all these figures which added a great deal of magnificence to that mosque, to be beat off.

The Shah Alam is still to be seen in Ahmedabad; it is the sepulchre of a vastly rich man whom the Indians report to have been a magician, and the Mahometans believe to be a great saint; so that it is daily visited by a great many out of devotion. It is a square pile of building, having on each side seven little domes which set off a great one in the middle, and the entry into that place is by seven ports which take up the whole front. Within this building there is another in form of a chapel, which is also square, when one is within the first which is paved with marble, one may walk round the chapel that hath two doors of marble, adorned with mother of pearl, and little pieces of crystal: The windows are shut with copper lattices cut into various figures. The tomb of the mock-saint which is in the middle of the chapel, is a kind of a bed covered with cloth of gold, the posts whereof are of the same

materials as the doors of the chapel are, and have the same ornament of mother of pearls; and over all there are six or seven silken canopies, one over another, and all of different colours. The place is very much frequented, and is continually full of white flowers brought thither by the devout Mahometans, when they come to say their prayers: A great many ostrich-eggs and hanging lamps are always to be seen there also.

On the other side of the court there is a like building, where some other saints of theirs are interred, and not many steps farther, a mosque with a large porch supported by pillars, with many chambers and other lodgings for the poor; and to complete all, there is a spacious garden at the backside of the mosque.

There are many gardens in Ahmedabad; and are so full of trees, that when one looks upon that town from a high place, it seems to be a forest of green trees, most of the houses being hid by them; and the king's garden which is without the town and by the river-side, contains all the kinds that grow in the Indies. There are long walks of trees planted in a straight line, which resemble the Cours de la Reine at Paris. It is very spacious, or rather, it is made up of a great many gardens raised amphitheatre-wise; and in the uppermost there is a terraced-walk, from whence one may see villages at several leagues distance. This garden being of a very great extent, its long walks yielded a very agreeable prospect. They have in the middle beds of flowers, which are not above a fathom and a half in breadth, but which reaches from one end of the garden to the other. In the centre of four walks which makes a cross, there is a pavilion covered with green tiles. Thither go all the young people of the town to take the fresh air upon the banks of a bason full of water underneath.

Going thither, we saw a pile of building, where a king of Gujarat lies interred. It is a square fabric, and in the opinion of the Indians, the magicians and sorcerers entertain the devil there. It is covered with a great dome, having five smaller ones on each side; and on each front of the building, there are pillars which support these domes. Some streets from thence there is to be seen a sepulchre, where a cow is interred under a dome standing upon six pillars.

They would have me go next to Sarkhej, which is a small town about a league and a half from the city. The Indians say, that in ancient times that place was the capital of Gujarat, because of the vast number of tombs of kings and princes that are there; but it is far more probable, that that place was only destined for their burying, and that Ahmedabad hath always been the capital. I observed there a building much of the same structure as that of Shah Alam. It hath the same ornaments, and is dedicated also to one of their saints; and all the difference is, that this has thirteen domes on each side, and the dome which covers the chapel, is painted and gilded in the inside. Opposite to this fabric, there is another like to it, and dedicated also to a saint.

Near to these sepulchres, I saw a mosque like to that which I viewed at Ahmedabad, and the only difference is, that it is less. It hath adjoining to it a great tank or reservatory; in the chapels on the sides whereof, are the tombs of the kings, queens, princes and princesses of Gujarat, to which they descend by several steps of very lovely stones. They are all of good solid work, whereby it sufficiently appears, that they have been made for kings and princes; but they are framed according to the same model. They consist commonly of a large square building that hath three great arches on each front, and over them a great many little ones. There is a large dome in the middle, and a great many little ones in the sides, and in every corner, a tower with a little pair of stairs in the thickness of the wall, to go up to terrace-walks which are at certain distances upon the building; the tomb being exactly under the great dome. Most of these places are full of the marks of the people's devotion, both Mahometans and Indians, who on certain days flock thither, of whom the latter bewail the loss of their princes. There are a great many pagodas in those quarters, and from Sarkhej comes all the indigo which is sold at Ahmedabad.

Without the city of Ahmedabad there is a lovely well, the figure of it is an oblong square; it is covered with seven arches of freestone, that much adorn it: There are six spaces betwixt the arches to let light in, and they are called, the mouths of the well. It is four fathom broad, and about four and twenty long.

At each end there is a staircase two foot broad to go down to it, with six stories or landings supported by pilasters eight foot high: Each storey hath a gallery, or place of four fathom extent, and these galleries and pilasters are of freestone: sixteen pilasters support each gallery, and the mouths of the well are about the same length and breadth that the galleries are: The figure of the third mouth differs from the rest, because it is an octogone, and has near it a little turning staircase that leads down to the well; the water of it rises from a spring, and it was up to the middle of the fourth storey when I went down, several little boys at that time swimming in it from one end to the other amongst the pillars. The Indians say, that this well was made at the charges of a nurse of a king of Gujarat, and that it cost thirty millions; but I could discover no work about it that required so great expenes.

In this town there is an hospital for birds. The gentiles lodge therein all the sick birds they find, and feed them as long as they live if they be indisposed. Four-footed beasts have theirs also: I saw in it several oxen, camels, horses, and other wounded beasts, who were looked after, and well fed, and which these idolaters buy from Christians and Moors, that they may deliver them, (as they say,) from the cruelty of infidels; and there they continue if they be incurable, but if they recover, they sell them to gentiles and to none else.

There are a great many forests about Ahmedabad, where they take panthers for hunting, and the governor of the town causes them to be taught, that he may send them to the king. The governor suffers none to by them but himself, and they whose care it is to tame them, keep them by them in the maidan, where from time to time they stroke and make much of them, that they may accustom them to the sight of men.

The Dutch showed me a beast they had, which is much esteemed in that country. It hath the head of a conie, and the ears, eyes and teeth of a hare; its muzzle is round and of a flesh-colour, and hath a tail like a squirrel, but it is a foot and a half long: In the forefeet it hath four fingers, and a claw in place of the fifth, its hind feet have five toes complete, which are very long as well as the claws: The sole of its feet is flat like an ape's, and of a flesh-colour: Its hair is long and coarse, and of

a dark red; but that on its belly and forefeet is greyish like the wool of a hare; it will eat anything but flesh, and easily cracks the hardest nuts: It is neither wild nor hurtful; will play with a cat, and show tricks like a squirrel: It rubs its snout with the feet and tail as they do, and has the same cry, but much stronger. The Dutch bought it of an Abyssin, who had it at Moca, though nobody could tell the name of it, nor what kind of beast it was. For my part, I make no doubt but that it is a particular kind of squirrel, though it be three times as big as those we have in Europe.

The commodities that are most traded in at Ahmedabad, are satins, velvets, taffeta's, and tapestries with gold, silk and woolen grounds: Cotton clothes are sold there also; but they come from Lahore and Delhi: They export from thence great quantities of indigo, dried and preserved ginger, sugar, cumin, lac, mirabolans, tamarins, opium, saltpetre and honey. The chief trade of the Dutch at Ahmedabad consists in chintzes, which are painted clothes; but they are nothing near so fine as those of Masulipatan and St. Thomas.

## 6. DEPARTURE FROM AHMEDABAD TO GO TO CAMBAY

HAVING seen what was curious and worth the seeing in Ahmedabad, and having thanked my landlords for their civilities, who at parting procured me an officer of the cotwal to see me safe out at the gates. I departed the sixteenth of February for Cambay which is but two days' easy journey, that is, about fifteen or sixteen French leagues from Ahmedabad. I followed the same way I came after I had visited the little town of Bareja, which I left on the left hand in coming. It is four leagues from Ahmedabad; but I saw nothing in it remarkable. When I was got as far as Souzentra I took to the right hand, the way of Cambay, and came to lodge all night in the village of Canara, a league and a half from Cambay.

Cambay which some call Cambage is a town of Gujarat, lying at the bottom of a gulf of the same name which is to the south of it. It is as big again as Surat; but not near so populous; it hath very fair brick-walls about four fathom high, with towers at certain distances. The streets of it are large and have all gates at the ends, which are shut in the night-time: The houses are very high, and built of bricks dried in the sun, and the shops are full of aromatic perfumes, spices, silken and other stuffs. There are vast numbers of ivory bracelets, agat-cups, chaplets and rings made in this town; and these agats are got out of quarries of a village called Nimodra, which are about four leagues from Cambay, upon the road to Broach; but the pieces that are got there are no bigger than one's fist.

Most part of the inhabitants are Bannians and Rajputs, whom we shall describe in the sequel. The castle where the governor lodges is large, but not at all beautiful. There are so many monkies in this town, that sometimes the houses are covered over with them, so that they never fail to hurt somebody in the streets when they can find anything on the roofs to throw at them. The outskirts of the town are beautified with a great many fair public gardens. There is a sepulchre built of marble, which a king of Gujarat raised in honour of his governor, whom he loved exceedingly, but it is kept in bad repair. It contains three courts, in one of which are several pillars of porphyrie, that still remain of a greater number. There are many sepulchres of princes there also. Heretofore there was in Cambay an hospital for sick beasts, but it hath been neglected, and is now fallen to ruin. The suburbs are almost as big as the town, and they make indigo there. The sea is half a league distant from it, though heretofore it came up to the town; and that has lessened the trade of the place, because great ships can come no nearer than three or four leagues. The tides are so swift to the north of the gulph, that a man on horse-back at full speed, cannot keep pace with the first waves; and *this violence of the sea is one reason also why great ships go but seldom thither.* The Dutch come not there but about the end of September, because along the coast of India that looks to Arabia, and especially in this Gulf of Cambay, it is so bad for ships in the beginning of this month, by reason of a



violent west-wind that blows then, and which is always accompanied with thick clouds which they call elephants, because of their shape, that it is almost impossible to avoid being cast away.

Having satisfied my curiosity as to what is remarkable in Cambay, I took leave of my friends; and there being several ways to go from thence to Surat, I advised which I had best to take. One may go by sea in four and twenty hours, in an *almadie* which is a kind of brigantine used by the Portuguese for trading along that coast: But these vessels go not commonly but in the night-time, that they might not be discovered by the Malabars. In the day-time they keep in harbours, and in the evening the master goes up to some height to discover if there be any Malabar barks at sea. The *almadies* sail so fast that the Malabars cannot come up with them, but they endeavour to surprise them, and when they discover anyone in a harbour, they skulk behind some rock, and fall upon it in its passage. Many of these *almadies* are lost in the Gulf of Cambay, where the tides are troublesome, and the banks numerous; and that is one reason why men venture not to go to Surat this way by sea, unless extraordinary business press them.

There is another way still by sea, which is to pass through the bottom of the gulf in a chariot, over against Cambay, at low water; and one must go three leagues and a half in water, which then is betwixt two and three foot deep: But I was told that the waves beat so rudely sometimes against the chariot, that it required a great many hands to keep it from falling, and that some mischance always happened; which hindered me from undertaking that course, though I knew very well that when I was past it, I had no more but eight and twenty leagues to Surat. And therefore I chose rather to go by land, what danger soever there might be of robbers, as I was assured there was

When my friends found I was resolved to go that way, they advised me for my security to take a *Tcheron* with a woman of his caste or tribe, to wait upon me till I were out of danger; but I refused to do it, and found by the success that I had reason to do as I did. These *Tcherns* are a caste of gentiles, who are highly esteemed amongst the idolaters: They live, for

most part at Broach, Cambay, and Ahmedabad: If one have any of these with him he thinks himself safe, because the man acquaints the robbers they meet, that the traveller is under his guard, and that if they come near him, he will cut his own throat, and the woman threatens them that she will cut off one of her breasts with a razor which she shows them; and all the heathen of those places look upon it to be a great misfortune, to be the cause of the death of a Tcheron, because ever after the guilty person is an eyesore to the whole tribe, he is turned out of it, and for his whole lifetime after upbraided with the death of that gentile. Heretofore some Tcherons both men and women have killed themselves upon such occasions; but that has not been seen of a long time, and at present, they say, they compound with the robbers for a certain sum which the traveller gives them, and that many times they divide it with them. The Bannians make use of these people; and I was told that if I would employ them, I might be served for two rupees a day: Nevertheless I would not do it, as looking upon it to be too low a kind of protection.

So then I ordered my coachman to drive me the same way I came, and to return to Souzentra that I might go to Surat by the ordinary way, though the compass he fetched made my journey longer by seven leagues and a half. For all the caution I could use, my men lost their way beyond Petlad, and we found ourselves at the village of Bilpad, the inhabitants whereof who are called Grasia, are for the most part all robbers. I met with one of them towards a little town named Sil; he was a fellow in very bad clothes, carrying a sword upon his shoulder, he called to the coachman to stop, and a boy about nine or ten years old that was with him, ran before the oxen: My men presently offered them a paisa which is worth about ten French deniers, and prayed the little boy to be gone; but he would not, till the coachman growing more obstinate, obliged the man to accept of the paisa. These blades go sometimes in whole troops, and one of them being satisfied, others come after upon the same road, who must also be contented, though they seldom use violence for fear of offending their raja. I wondered how that Grasia being alone, durst venture to set upon so many; but the coachman told me, that if the least

injury had been offered to him, he would have given the alarm by knocking with his fingers upon his mouth, and that presently he would have been assisted by his neighbours: In the meantime this small rancounter convinced me that there was not so great danger upon the roads, as some would have made me believe.

We found our way again shortly after: We then crossed the river of Mahi, and coming out of it I gave half a rupee to the same *Grasias* whom I paid as I went to Ahmedabad. The tole belongs to the raja of the country, who is to answer for the robberies committed within his territories. And the truth is, he is as exact as possibly he can be to hinder them, and to cause restitution to be made of what is taken, especially if it be merchant's goods, or other things of consequence: And my coachman told me, that one day having lost an ox, he went to the raja to demand his ox; the raja sent for those who he thought had stolen it, and causing them to be cudgelled, till one of them confessing he had it, he obliged him to bring it out, and restore it to the coachman, who was to give him only a rupee for the blows he had received. But the raja of the *Grasias* does much more; for if he that comes to complain have not time to stay till what he hath lost be found, it is enough if he tell the place of his abode, and he fails not to send it him back by one of his people, though it be eight day journey off. He is so much a gentleman, that most commonly he sends presents to people of fashion who pass by Bilpad, and does them all the good offices they desire of him.

Seeing the caravans that pass by that place on their way to Agra, pay him ten rupees a man, he treats the whole caravan gratis, and sends provisions and victuals into the caravan which he orders his cooks to dress. These do what they can to please the caravan, and earn some paises from them, as they are reckoned the best cooks in the country; but in truth their ragoes are not at all good: Nor does their master fail to send dancing girls to divert the company; and when they are ready to go, he furnishes the caravan with several horsemen for their security, until they be out of his jurisdiction. His territories comprehend all the villages from Cambay to Broachs, and all his subjects are called *Grasias*.

Next day I came to the town of Broach, and stayed only a few hours to refresh my men and oxen. The officers of the custom-house asked me at parting, If I had any merchant's goods, and having answered them that I had none; they took my word, and used me civilly: So I crossed the river at Ankleshwar, from whence next day I went to Surat.

## 7. OF SURAT

THE town of Surat lies in one and twenty degrees and some minutes of north latitude, and is watered by the river Tapti. When I came there, the walls of it were only of earth, and almost all ruinous, but they were beginning to build them of brick, a fathom and a half thick; they gave them but the same height; and nevertheless they designed to fortify the place as strong as it could be made, because of the irruption that a raja, (of whom I shall speak hereafter) had made into it some time before. However the engineer hath committed a considerable fault in the setting out of his walls: He hath built them so near the fort, that the town will be safe from the canon of the castle, and those who defend it may easily be galled by musket-shot from the town.

These new walls render the town much less than it was before; for a great many houses made of canes that formerly were within its precinct are now left out, for which, those who are concerned pretend reparation. Surat is but of an indifferent bigness, and it is hard to tell exactly the number of its inhabitants, because the seasons render it unequal: There are a great many all the year round; but in the time of the monsoon, that is to say, in the time when ships can go and come to the Indies without danger, in the months of January, February, March, and even in April, the town is so full of people, that lodgings can hardly be had, and the three suburbs are all full.

It is inhabited by Indians, Persians, Arabians, Turks, Franks, Armenians, and other Christians: In the meantime its usual inhabitants are reduced to three orders, amongst whom, indeed, neither the Franks nor other Christians are comprehended, because they are but in a small number in comparison of those who profess another religion. These three sorts of inhabitants are either Moors, heathens, or Parsis; by the word Moors are understood all the Mahometans, Moguls, Persians, Arabians or Turks that are in the Indies, though they be not uniform in their religion, the one being Sunnis and the other Shias. I have observed the difference betwixt them in my *Second Part*. The inhabitants of the second order are called gentils or heathens, and these adore idols, of whom also there are several sorts. Those of the third rank are the Parsis, who are likewise called Gaures or Atechperest, adorers of the fire: These profess the religion of the ancient Persians, and they retreated into the Indies, when Calyse Omar reduced the kingdom of Persia under the power of the Mahometans. There are people vastly rich in Surat, and a Bannian a friend of mine, called Vargivora, is reckoned to be worth at least eight millions. The English and Dutch have their houses there, which are called lodges and factories: They have very pretty apartments, and the English have settled the general staple of their trade there. There may be very well an hundred Catholic families in Surat.

The castle is built upon the side of the river at the south end of the town, to defend the entry against those that would attack it, by the Tapti. It is a fort of a reasonable bigness, square and flanked at each corner by a large tower. The ditches on three sides are filled with sea water, and the fourth side which is to the west is washed by the river. Several pieces of canon appear on it mounted; and the revenues of the king that are collected in the province are kept there, which are never sent to court but by express orders. The entry to it is on the west side by a lovely gate which is in the bazar or maidan: The custom-house is hard by, and that castle has a particular governor, as the town has another.

The houses of this town on which the inhabitants have been willing to lay out money, are flat as in Persia, and pretty

well built; but they cost dear, because there is no stone in the country; seeing they are forced to make use of brick and lime, a great deal of timber is employed, which must be brought from Daman by sea, the wood of the country which is brought a great way off, being much dearer because of the land-carriage. Brick and lime are very dear also; and one cannot build an ordinary house at less charge than five or six hundred livres for brick, and twice as much for lime. The houses are covered with tiles made half round, and half an inch thick, but ill burnt; so that they look still white when they are used, and do not last; and it is for that reason that the bricklayers lay them double, and make them to keep whole. Canes which they call bamboos serve for laths to fasten the tiles to; and the carpenter's work which supports all this, is only made of pieces of round timber: Such houses as these are for the rich; but those the meaner sort of people live in, are made of canes, and covered with the branches of palm-trees.

Now, it is better building in the Indies in the time of rain, than in fair weather, because the heat is so great, and the force of the sun so violent, when the heavens are clear, that everything dries before it be consolidate, and cracks and chinks in a trice; whereas rain tempers that heat, and hindering the operation of the sun, the mason-work has time to dry. When it rains the work-men have no more to do, but to cover their work with wax-cloth, but in dry weather there is no remedy; all that can be done is to lay wet tiles upon the work as fast as they have made an end of it; but they dry so soon, that they give but little help. The streets of Surat are large and even, but they are not paved, and there is no considerable public buildings within the precinct of the town.

The Christians and Mahometans there eat commonly cow-beef, not only because it is better than the flesh of oxen, but also because the oxen are employed in ploughing the land, and carrying all loads. The mutton that is eaten there, is pretty good; but besides that, they have pullets, chickens, pigeons, pigs, and all sorts of wild fowl. They make use of the oil of *cnicus silvestris*, or wild saffron with their food; it is the best in the Indies, and that of *sesamum* which is common also, is not so good.

They eat grapes in Surat from the beginning of February, to the end of April, but they have no very good taste. Some think that the reason of that is, because they suffer them not to ripen enough: Nevertheless the Dutch who let them hang on the vine as long as they can, make a wine of them which is so eager, that it cannot be drunk without sugar. The white grapes are big and fair to the eye, and they are brought to Surat, from a little town called Naapoura, in the province of Balagate, and four days' journey from Surat.

The strong-water of this country is no better than the wine, that which is commonly drunk, is made of jaggery or black sugar put into water with the bark of the tree babool, to give it some force; and then all are distilled together. They make a strong-water also of tary which they distil; but these strong-waters are nothing so good as our brandy, no more than those they draw from rice, sugar and dates. The vinegar they use is also made of jaggery infused in water. There are some that put spoilt-raisins in it when they have any; but to make it better, they mingle tary with it, and set it for several days in the sun.

## 8. OF TARY

T A R Y is a liquor that they drink with pleasure in the Indies. It is drawn from two sorts of palm-trees, to wit, from that which they call khajur, and from that which bears the coco; the best is got from the khajur. They who draw it gird their loins with a thick leather-girdle, wherewith they embrace the trunk of the tree, that they may climb up without a ladder; and when they are come to that part of the tree from which they would draw the tary, they make an incision one inch deep and three inches wide, with a pretty heavy iron-chisel, so that the hole enters into the pith of the khajur, which is white: At the same time they fasten an earthen pitcher half

a foot below the hole, and this pot having the back part a little raised, receives the liquor which continually drops into it; whilst they cover it with briars or palm branches, lest the birds should come and drink it. Then they come down, and climb not up the tree again till they perceive that the pitcher is full, and then they empty the tary into another pot fastened to their girdle. That kind of palm-tree bears no dates, when they draw tary from it; but when they draw none, it yields wild dates.

They take another course in drawing that liquor from the coco-tree. They make no hole, but only cut the lower branches to a foot length. They fasten pots to the end of them, and the tary distils into the vessels. Seeing the operation I have been speaking of is but once a year performed on these palm trees, they whose trade it is to sell tary, have a prodigious number of these trees, and there are a great many merchants that farm them. The best tary is drawn in the night-time; and they who would use it with pleasure, ought to drink of that, because not being heated by the sun, it is of an acid sweetness, which leaves in the mouth the flavour of a chestnut, which is very agreeable. That which is drawn in the day-time is cager, and most commonly made vinegar of, because it easily corrupts and decays. That kind of palm, or coco-tree, is fit for many other uses, for of its trunk they make masts and anchors, nay, and the hulks of ships also; and of its bark sails and cables. The fruit that springs from its feathered branches, is as big as an ordinary melon, and contains a very wholesome juice, which hath the colour and taste of white wine. The Dutch have a great many of these coco-trees in Batavia, which turn to great profit to them. The revenue alone of those which belong to the company near the town, with the imposition on every stand of those who sell anything in the market-place, is sufficient to pay their garrison: But they are so rigorous in exacting it, that if anyone leave his stand, to take a minute's refreshment in the rain, or for any other necessary occasion, though he immediately come back, yet must he pay a second time if he will challenge the same stand

At Surat, are sold all sorts of stuffs and cotton-cloths that are made in the Indies, all the commodities of Europe, nay



and of China also, as purceline, cabinets and coffers adorned with torqueses, agats, cornelians, ivory, and other sorts of embellishments. There are diamonds, rubies, pearls, and all the other precious stones which are found in the east to be sold there also: Musk, amber, myrrh, incense, manna, sal-armoniac, quick-silver, lac, indigo, the root roenas for dying red, and all sorts of spices and fruits which are got in the Indies and other countries of the Levant, go off here in great plenty; and in general all the drogues that foreign merchants buy up to transport into all parts of the world.

## 9. OF THE WEIGHTS AND MONEY OF SURAT

AT Surat as elsewhere, there are diverse kinds of weights and measures. That which is called candy, is of twenty maunds, but the most common weight used in trade is the maund, which contains forty seers or pounds, and the pound of Surat contains fourteen ounces, or five and thirty tolas. All gold and silver is weighed by the tola, and the tola contains forty mangelis, which makes fifty-six of our carats, or thirty-two vales, or otherwise fourscore and sixteen gongys. The vale contains three gongys, and two tolas a third and a half, answers to an ounce of Paris weight, and a tola weighs as much as a rupee. The maund weighs forty pound weight all the Indies over, but these pounds or seers vary according to different countries: For instance, the pounds of Surat are greater than those of Golconda, and by consequence the maund is bigger also: The seer or pound of Surat weighs no more but fourteen ounces; and that of Agra weighs twenty-eight.

Great sums of money are reckoned by lakhs, crouls or crores padans, and nils. An hundred thousand rupees make a lakh, an hundred thousand lakhs a crore, an hundred thousand crores a padan, and an hundred thousand padans a nil. The great

lords have rupees of gold, which are worth about one and twenty French livres, but since they pass not commonly in trade, and that they are only coined for the most part, to be made presents of, I shall only speak of those of silver. The silver rupee is as big as an Abassi of Persia, but much thicker, it weighs a tola; It passes commonly for thirty French sols, but it is not worth above nine and twenty. They yearly coin rupees; and the new ones during the year they are coined in, are valued a paisa more than those of the foregoing year, because the coiners pretend that the silver daily wears: The truth is, when I came to Surat, the rupees were worth thirty-three paisas and half, and when I left it, the same were worth but thirty-two and a half. They have rupees and quarter pieces also.

The Abassis that are brought from Persia, pass only for nineteen paisas, which are about sixteen French sols and a half. There is also a Mogole silver-coin, called Mahmoudy, which is worth about eleven sols and a half.

The paisa is a piece of copper-money as big and thick as a rupee, it is worth somewhat more than ten French deniers, and weighs six of our drachms.

They give threescore and eight baden or bitter almonds for a paisa. These almonds that pass for money at Surat, come from Persia, and are the fruit of a shrub that grows on the rocks. There are also half paisas.

It is to be observed that the silver money of the Great Mogul is finer than any other, for whenever a stranger enters the empire, he is made to change the silver he hath, whether piastres or abassis, into the money of the country, and at the same time they are melted down, and the silver refined for the coining of rupees.

## 10. OF THE OFFICERS OF SURAT

THERE is a mufti at Surat, who has the inspection over all that concerns the Mahometan religion, and a qazi esta-

blished for the laws, to whom recourse is had in case of contest. The Great Mogul entertains another great officer there, whom the Franks call secretary of state, and whose duty much resembles that of the intendant of a province in France. He is called vaca-nevis, that is who writes and keeps a register of all that happens within the extent of the country where he is placed. The king keeps one in every government, to give him notice of all that occurs, and he depends on no minister of state, but only on his majesty.

There are two governors or nobab at Surat, who have no dependence one on another, and give an account of their actions only to the king. The one commands the castle, and the other the town; and they encroach not upon one another's rights and duties. The governor of the town judges in civil matters, and commonly renders speedy justice. If a man sue another for a debt, he must either show an obligation, produce two witnesses, or take an oath: If he be a Christian, he swears upon the Gospel; if a Moor, upon the Alcoran, and a heathen swears upon the cow: The gentle's oath consists only in laying his hand upon the cow, and saying, that he wishes he may eat of the flesh of that beast, if what he says be not true; but most of them choose rather to lose their cause than to swear, because they who swear are reckoned infamous among the idolaters.

The first time one goes to wait upon the governor, as soon as they come they lay before him, five, six, or ten rupees, every one according to his quality; and in the Indies the same thing is done to all for whom they would show great respect. This governor meddles not at all in criminal affairs; an officer named cotwal takes cognisance of them. In Turkey he is called sousbassa, and in Persia deroga. He orders the criminals to be punished in his presence, either by whipping or cudgelling, and that correction is inflicted many times in his house, and sometimes in the street at the same place where they have committed the fault. When he goes abroad through the town, he is on horse-back, attended by several officers on foot, some carrying batons and great whips, others lances, swords, targets, and maces of iron like the great pestles of a mortar; but all have a dagger at their sides. Nevertheless neither the civil nor criminal judge can put anyone to death.

The king reserves that power to himself, and therefore when any man deserves death, a courier is dispatched to know his pleasure, and they fail not to put his orders in execution, so soon as the courier is come back.

The cotwal is obliged to go about the street in the night-time, to prevent disorders; and sets guards in several places. If he find any man abroad in the streets, he commits him to prison, and very rarely does he let him go out again, without being bastinadoed or whipped. Two of the officers that wait on him, about nine of the clock beat two little drums, whilst a third sounds two or three times a long copper-trumpet, which I have described in my voyage into Persia. Then the officers or serjeants cry as loud as they can, Caberdar, that is to say, take heed; and they who are in the neighbouring streets, answer with another cry, to show that they are not asleep. After that they continue their round, and begin to cry again afresh until they have finished it. This round is performed thrice a night, to wit, at nine of the clock, midnight, and three *in the morning*.

The cotwal is to answer for all the robberies committed in the town; but as generally all that are put into that office, are very cunning, so they find always evasion to come off without paying. Whilst I was at Surat, an Armenian merchant was robbed of two thousand four hundred chequins, his name was Cogea Minas: Two of his slaves absconding about the time of the robbery, he failed not to accuse them of it; all imaginary enquiry was made after them, but seeing there was no news to be had neither of them nor of the money, the report run that these slaves had committed the theft; and that they were concealed by some Moor that was in intelligence with them, who perhaps, to get all the money had killed and buried them, as it had already happened at Surat.

In the meantime the governor told the cotwal, that he must forthwith pay the money, because if the emperor came to know of the matter, all the fault would be laid at their door, that perhaps they might be served worse than to be made pay the money that had been stolen from Cogea Minas, and that therefore they had best send for the Armenian, and learn from him how much he had really lost. The cotwal

said nothing to the contrary, but at the same time asked leave to commit him to prison, and to put him and his servants to the rack, that so by torture he might discover whether or not he had really lost the money, and if so, whether or not one of his own men had robbed him. The governor granted what he demanded; but no sooner was the news brought to the Armenian, but he desisted from pursuing the cotwal, and chose rather to lose all than to suffer the torments that were designed for him. In this manner commonly the cotwal comes off.

When anyone is robbed, this officer apprehends all the people of the house both young and old where the robbery hath been committed, and causes them to be beaten severely. They are stretched out upon the belly, and four men hold him that is to be punished by the legs and arms, and two others have each a long whip of twisted thongs of leather made thick and round, wherewith they lash the patient one after another, like smiths striking on an anvil, till he have received two or three hundred lashes, and be in a gore of blood. If at first he confess not the theft, they whip him again next day, and so for several days more, until he hath confessed all, or the thing stolen be recovered again; and what is strange, the cotwal neither searches his house or goods, but after five or six days, if he do not confess he is dismissed.

At Surat there is a prevost who is called faujdar, and he is obliged to secure the country about, and to answer for all the robberies that are committed there; but I cannot tell if he be so crafty as the cotwal, When they would stop any person, they only cry duhai-padshah, which hath greater force than a hue-and-cry; and if they forbid a man to stir out of the place where he is, by saying duhai-padshah. he cannot go, without rendering himself criminal, and is obliged to appear before the justice. This cry is used all over the Indies: After all, there are but fines imposed at Surat, the people live there with freedom enough.

## 11. BAD OFFICES DONE TO THE FRENCH COMPANY AT SURAT

THE governor of Surat was making strict enquiry into the French company, when I came to the Indies. Seeing at first he applied himself to the other Franks, and particularly to those whose interest it was not to have it established at Surat, they told him a great deal of evil of the French; so that by the artifice of their enemies he had conceived a bad opinion of them. He was thinking to solicit their exclusion at court, when Father Ambrose, Superior of the Capuchins, being informed of it, went to undeceive him, telling him that he ought not to give credit to the enemies of that company, for that they were combined to ruin it if they could. He loved that Father because of his probity, and therefore did not reject him; only adjured him to tell him the truth without dissimulation concerning the matter, and whether the French, who were to come, were not pirates, as it was reported all over the country, and as many Franks had assured him they were.

This thought was suggested in Surat, so soon as it was known that there was a design in France of sending ships to trade in the East-Indies; and the calumny was easily believed, because one Lambert Hugo, a Dutchman, who had had French on board of him, and whom they brought fresh into the people's minds, had been two years before at Mocha with French colours, and a commission from the Duke of Vendosme then Admiral of France, and had taken some vessels: But that which offended most, was the story of the ship that carried the goods of the Queen of Bijapur, and was stranded about Socotra, an isle lying in eleven degrees forty minutes latitude, at the entry of the Red Sea. That queen who was going to Mecca, was out of the reach of the corsar, for luckily she had gone on board of Dutch ship, but being satisfied with a ship belonging to herself for transporting her equipage; Hugo met that ship, and pursued her so briskly, that the master was forced to run aground. It being difficult for the corsar to approach the ship in the place where she lay, he lost no courage, but patiently expected what might be the issue of her

stranding: His expectation was not in vain; for the Indians wanting water for a long time, and finding none where they were, suffered great extremity; and therefore having hid in the sea what gold, silver, and precious stones they could, they resolved to have recourse to the corsar himself to save their lives, hoping that he would be satisfied with what remained in the ship.

Hugo being come up with them, cunningly found out that they had sunk somewhat in the sea; and a false brother told him, that none but the carpenter and his son knew where the queen's treasure was, (for she had carried with her a great deal of money, jewels and rich stuffs to make presents at Mecca, Medina, Grand Sheikh, and other places, resolving to be very magnificent.) In fine, Hugo having sufficiently tortured the master, carpenter, and the carpenter's son, whom he threatened to kill in his father's presence, made them bring out what was in the sea, and seized it, as he did the rest of the cargo. This action had made so much noise in the Indies, that Hugo, who was there taken for a Frenchman, was abominated, and by consequence all Frenchmen for his sake

The governor talked high of that corsar to Father Ambrose, who had much ado so persuade him, that he was not a Frenchman, because he came with French colours, and for certain had a great many Frenchmen on board. However, after much discourse he believed him; but for all that excused not the French from the action wherein they had assisted him, and still maintained, that nothing but a design of robbing had brought them into that country: The Father denied that it was their design, but that they only came with Lambert Hugo to revenge an affront done to some French, in Aden a town of Arabia the Happy, lying in the eleventh degree of latitude; and thereupon he told him what was done in that town to the French, some years before; How that a pinnacle of Monsieur de la Meilleraya, being obliged in a storm to separate from her man of war, and to put into Aden. The Sunnis by force and unparalleled impiety, had caused all those that came ashore to be circumcised, though at first they received them well, and promised to treat them as friends. That notwithstanding that, the King of France as well as the Indians had disapproved the

action of the corsar and French who were on board of him, because they had put his subjects into bad reputation, by the artifice of the enemies of France; but that he was resolved to dispel that bad reputation, by settling a company to trade to the Indies, with express orders to exercise no acts of hostility there.

The governor being satisfied with the answer of Father Ambrose, prayed him to write down in the Persian language all that he had told him; and so soon as he had done so, he sent it to court. The Great Mogul having had it read to him in the divan, was fully satisfied therewith, as well as his ministers of state, and then all desired the coming of the French ships. The truth is, that governor showed extraordinary kindness to the Sieurs de la Boullaye and Beber, the Company's envoy's, and told them, that on the testimony of Father Ambrose, he would do them all the service he could. The English president, an old friend of that Father's, showed them also all the honour he could, having sent his coach and servants to receive them, and he assured the Father, that they might command anything he had. Thus the Capuchin by the credit that he had acquired in the Indies, dispersed the bad reports which the enemies of France, had raised against the French.

## 12. OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE TOWN'S DAUGHTER

WHILST I was at Surat, the governor of the town married his daughter to the son of an omra, who came thither for that end. That young lord made his trumpets, tymbals and drums play publicly during the space of twelve or fourteen days, to entertain the people, and publish his marriage upon a Wednesday which was appointed for the ceremony of the wedding; he made the usual cavalcade about eight of the clock at night, first marched his standards which were followed by



several hundreds of men carrying torches, and these torches were made of bamboos or canes, at the end whereof there was an iron candlestick, containing rolls of oiled cloth made like sausages. Amongst these torch-lights there were two hundred men and women, little boys, and little girls, who had each of them upon their head a little hurdle of Ozier-twigs, on which were five little earthen cruces that served for candlesticks to so many wax-candles, and all these people were accompanied with a great many others, some carrying in baskets, rolls of cloth and oil to supply the flambeaus, and others candles.

The trumpets came after the flambeau-carriers, and these were followed by public dancing-women, sitting in two machans made like bedsteads without posts, in the manner of palanquins, which several men carried on their shoulders. They sung and played on their cymbals, intermingled with plates and flat thin pieces of copper, which they struck one against another, and made a very clear sound, but unpleasant, if compared with the sound of our instruments. Next came six pretty handsome led horses, with cloth-saddles wrought with gold thread.

The bridegroom having his face covered with a gold fringe, which hung down from a kind of mitre that he wore on his head followed on horseback, and after came twelve horsemen, who had behind them two great elephants, and two camels which carried each two men playing on tymbals; and besides these men each elephant had his guide sitting upon his neck. This cavalcade having for the space of two hours marched through the town, passed at length before the governor's house, where they continued, as they had done all along the streets where the cavalcade went, to throw fireworks for some time, and then the bridegroom retired.

Sometime after, bonfires prepared on the riverside before the governor's house were kindled; and on the water, before the castle there were six barks full of lamps burning in tires; about half an hour after ten these barks drew near the house, the better to light the river: And at the same time, on the side of Rander, there were men that put candles upon the water, which floating gently without going out, were by an ebbing tide carried towards the sea. Rander is an old town about a

quarter of a league distant from Surat: It stands on the other side of the Tapti, and though it daily fall into ruin, yet the Dutch have a very good magazine there

There were five little artificial towers upon the water side full of fire-lances and squibs, which were set on fire one after another, but seeing the Indian squibs make no noise no more than their fire-lances, all they did, was to turn violently about, and dart a great many streaks of fire into the air, some straight up like waterworks, and others obliquely, representing the branches of a tree of fire They put fire next to a machine which seemed to be a blue tree when it was on fire, because there was a great deal of brimstone in the firework After that upon a long bar of iron fixed in the ground they placed a great many artificial wheels, which played one after another and spread abundance of fire They also burnt divers pots full of powder, from which large flakes of artificial lightning glanced up in the air, and all this while, squibs and serpents flew about in vast numbers, and with them many fire-lances, in which was a great deal of camphers, that yielded a whitish dazzling flame

These fireworks played almost an hour, and when they were over, the main business was performed The maid was married in her father's house by a moula, and about two of the clock in the morning was conducted upon an elephant to her husband's lodgings

There were a great many dancers, tumblers, and players at sleight of hand in the open places, but they acted nothing, as I could see, but what was dull, and yet I was advantageously placed in windows to examine their play, being desirous to see, if what was told of their dexterity was true but I found nothing extraordinary in it, and I should have had a bad opinion of the Indian dances, if I had not met with nimbler afterwards in my travels there

The first time I saw hermaphrodites was there It was easy to distinguish them, for seeing there is a great number in that town, and all over the Indies, I was informed before hand, that for a mark to know them by, they were obliged under pain of correction, to wear upon their heads a turban like men, though they go in the habit of women

### 13. OF BURYING-PLACES, AND THE BURNING OF DEAD BODIES

THE burying-places of Surat are without the town, about three or four hundred paces from Broach gate. The Catholics have their own apart; and so have the English and Dutch, as well as some religious Indians. The English and Dutch adorn their graves with pyramids of brick whitened over with lime; and whilst I was there, there was one a building for a Dutch commander, which was to cost eight thousand livres. Amongst the rest, there is one of a great drinker, who had been banished to the Indies by the states general, and who is said to have been a kinsman of the Prince of Orange: They have raised a monument for him, as for other persons of note; but to let the world see that he could drink stoutly, on the top of his pyramid there is a large stone-cup, and one below at each corner of his tomb; and hard by each cup there is the figure of a sugar-loaf. When the Dutch have a mind to divert themselves at that monument, they make, God knows, how many ragoes in these cups, and with other less cups drink or eat what they have prepared in the great ones.

The religious gentiles have their tombs about two thousand paces beyond the Dutch burying-place. They are square, and made of plaister; they are about two or three foot high, and two foot broad, covered some with a dome, and others with a pyramid of plaister somewhat more than three foot high; on the one side there is a little window, through which one may see the top of the grave; and because there are two soles of feet cut upon them, some have believed that the vratis were interred with the head down and the feet upwards, but having informed myself as to that, I learnt, that there was no such thing, and that the bodies are laid in their graves after the ordinary manner.

The place where the Bannians burn their dead bodies, is by the riverside, beyond the burying-places, and when they are consumed, the ashes are left there, on design, that they may be carried away by the Tapti, because they look upon it as a

sacred river. They believe that it contributes much to the salvation of the soul of the deceased, to burn his body immediately after his death, because, (as they say,) his soul suffers after the separation from the body till it be burnt: It is true, that if they are in a place where there is no wood, they tie a stone to the dead body, and throw it into the water, and their religion allows them to bury it if there be neither water nor wood; but they are still persuaded that the soul is much happier when the body hath been burnt.

They burn not the bodies of children that die before they are two years old, because they are as yet innocent; nor do they burn the bodies of the *vratis* nor *yogis*, who are a kind of dervishes, because they follow the rite of Mahavdea, who is one of their great saints, and who ordered the bodies to be interred.

## 14. OF DIVERSE CURIOSITIES AT SURAT

TOWARDS the English burying-place there is a great well; a Bannian made it for the convenience of travellers, and it is of an oblong square figure, like the well of Ahmedabad, which I have described. There are over it diverse thin brick-arches, at some feet distance one from another: Several stairs go down to it, and the light enters by the spaces that are between the arches; so that one may see very clearly from the top to the bottom. On the outside there is the figure of a red-face, but the features are not to be distinguished. The Indians say, that it is the pagod of Mahadeva, and the gentiles pay a great devotion to it.

Towards Daman-gate, where the loveliest walk in all the country begins, there is a reservatory much esteemed. That gate is covered and encompassed with the branches of a lovely war, which the Portuguese call the Tree of Roots, that furnis-

hes the pleasantest resting-place imaginable to all that go to the tank. This great reservoir of water hath six angles, the side of every angle is an hundred paces long, and the whole at least a musket-shot in diameter. The bottom is paved with large free stone, and there are steps almost all round in form of an amphitheatre, reaching from the brim to the bottom of the bason; they are each of them half a foot high, and are of lovely free-stone that hath been brought from about Cambay, where there are no steps there is a sloping descent to the bason; and there are three places made for beasts to water at.

In the middle of this reservoir there is a stone-building about three fathom every way, to which they go up by two little stair-cases. In this place they go to divert themselves, and take the fresh air; but they must go to it in boat. The great bason is filled with rain-water in the season when the rains fall, for after it hath run through the fields, where it makes a kind of a great canal, over which they have been obliged to make bridges, it stops in a place enclosed within walls, from whence it passes into the tank through three round holes, which are above four foot diameter, and hard by there is a kind of Mahometan chapel.

This tank was made at the charges of a rich Bannian named Gopi, who built it for the public; and heretofore all the water that was drank in Surat came from this reservoir, for the five wells which at present supply the whole town, were not found out till long after it was built. It was begun at the same time the castle was, and they say, that the one cost as much as the other. It is certainly a work worthy of a king, and it may be compared to the fairest that the Romans ever made for public benefit. But seeing the Levantines let all things go to ruin for want of repair, it was above six foot filled with earth when I saw it, and in danger sometime or other to be wholly choaked up, if some charitable Bannian be not at the charge of having it cleansed.

Having viewed that lovely reservoir, we went a quarter of a league farther to see the Princess's Garden, so called, because it belongs to the Great Mogul's sister. It is a great plot of trees of several kinds; as manguiers, palms, mirabolans, wars, maisa-trees, and many other planted in a straight line. Amongst the

shrubs I saw the *querzehere* or *aacila*, of which I have treated at large in my *Second Part*, and also the *accaria* of Egypt. There are in it a great many very fair straight walks, and especially the four which make a cross over the garden, and have in the middle a small canal of water that is drawn by oxen out of a well. In the middle of the garden there is a building with four fronts, each whereof hath its *divan*, with a closet at each corner; and before every one of these *divans* there is a square bason full of water, from whence flow the little brooks which run through the chief walks. After all, though that garden be well contrived, it is nothing to the gallantry of ours. There is nothing to be seen of our arbours, borders of flowers, nor of the exactness of their compartments, and far less of their waterworks.

About an hundred, or an hundred and fifty paces from that garden, we saw the war-tree in its full extent. It is likewise called *ber*, and the tree of *banians*, as also the tree of roots, because of the facility wherewith the branches that bear large filaments, take rooting, and by consequence produce other branches; insomuch that one single tree is sufficient to fill a great spot of ground; and this I speak of, is very large and high, affording a most spacious shade. Its circuit is round, and is fourscore paces in diameter, which make above thirty fathom. The branches that had irregularly taken root, have been so skilfully cut, that at present one may without any trouble walk about everywhere under it.

The gentiles of India look upon that tree as sacred; and we might easily perceive that at a distance, by the banners which the *Bannians* had planted on the top and highest branches of it. It hath by it a pagoda dedicated to an idol which they call *Mameva*; and they who are not of their religion, believe it to be a representation of Eve. We found a *Bramen* sitting there, who put some red colour upon the foreheads of those who come to pay their devotions, and received the presents of rice or cocos that they offered him. That pagoda is built under the tree in form of a grot; the outside is painted with diverse figures representing the fables of their false gods, and in the grot there is a head all over red.

In that place I saw a man very charitable towards the ants: He carried flower in a sack to be distributed amongst them,

and left a handful everywhere where he met with any number.

Whilst we were abroad in the fields, we considered the soil of Surat, it is of a very brown earth; and they assured us, that it was so very rich, that they never dunged it. After the rains they sow their corn, that is, after the month of September, and they cut it down after February. They plant sugarcane there also; and the way of planting them, is to make great furrows, wherein, before they lay the canes, they put a great many of the little fish called gudgeons: Whether these fish serve to fatten the earth, or that they add some quality to the cane, the Indians pretend, that without that manure the cane would produce nothing that is good. They lay their pieces of canes over these fish, end to end, and from every joint of cane so interred, there springs a sugarcane, which they reap in their season.

The soil about Surat is good for rice also, and there is a great deal sown Manguiers and palm-trees of all kinds, and other sorts of trees thrive well there, and yield great profit. The Dutch water their ground with well-water, which is drawn by oxen after the manner described in my Second Part; but the corn-land is never watered, because the dew that falls plentifully in the mornings, is sufficient for it.

The river of Tapti is always brackish at Surat, and therefore the inhabitants make no use of it, neither for drink nor watering of their grounds, but only for washing their bodies, which they do every morning as all the other Indians do. They make use of well-water to drink, and it is brought in borrachoes upon oxen. This river of itself is but little, for at high-water it is no broader than half of the river Seine at Paris: Nevertheless it swells so in the winter-time by the rain-water, that it furiously overflows, and makes great havoc: It has its source in a place called Gahara-Kanda, in the mountains of Deccan, ten leagues from Burhanpur. It passes by that town, and before it discharge itself into the sea, it waters several countries, and washes many towns, as last of all it does Surat. At low water, it runs to the Bar; but when it flows the sea commonly advances two leagues over that Bar, and so receives the water of the Tapti.

## 15. THE PORT OF SURAT

THE Bar of Surat, where ships come at present, is not its true port; at best it can be called but a road; and I had reason to say in the beginning of this book, that it is called the Bar because of the banks of sand which hinder ships from coming farther in. The truth is, there is so little water there, that though the vessels be unloaded, the ordinary tides are not sufficient to bring them up, and they are obliged to wait for a spring tide; but then they come up to Surat, especially when they want to be careened. Small barks come easily up to the town with the least tides.

The true port of Surat is Swally, two leagues from the Bar. It is distant from the town four leagues and a half; and to go to it by land, they cross the river at the town. All vessels heretofore came to an anchor in this port, where the ground is good; but because the customs were often stolen there, it is prohibited, and no ship hath gone thither since the year one thousand six hundred and sixty, but the English and Dutch who are suffered to anchor there still, and have their several magazines in that place. That port affords them a fair opportunity of getting ashore what they please custom-free; and the coaches of the governors, commanders, or presidents of these two nations, who often take the air thereabouts, might easily carry off anything of small bulk from on board their ships. They have even gardens at Swally by the sea-side, and each a small harbour, where they put their boats or barks; so that it is their own fault if they save not a great many things without paying custom.

Since the prohibition made to other nations of coming to anchor at Swally, there are always a great many vessels at the Bar, though it be an *incommodious* road for them; for ships come from Persia, Arabia Felix, and generally from all countries of the Indies as formerly; so that the prohibition of putting into Swally hath nothing lessened the customs which yield the king yearly twelve lakhs of rupees, each lakh being worth about an hundred thousand French livres. The master of the custom-house is a Moor, and has his commission from



the governor of Surat. The clerks are Bannians, and the rest of the officers of the custom-house, as waiters, porters, and others, are also Moors, and they are called the peons of the custom-house.

## 16. OF THE IRRUPTION OF SHIVAJI

IN January 1664. Raja Shivaji put the customers and their governor to a strange plunge; and seeing he is become famous by his actions, it will not be amiss, I think, to give a short history of him. This Shivaji is the son of a captain of the King of Bijapur, and born at Basseim being of a restless and turbulent spirit, he rebelled in his father's life-time, and putting himself at the head of several banditi, and a great many debauched young men, he made his part good in the mountains of Bijapur against those that came to attack him, and could not be reduced. The king thinking that his father kept intelligence with him, caused him to be arrested; and he dying in prison, Shivaji conceived so great a hatred against the king, that he used all endeavours to be revenged on him. In a very short time he plundered part of Bijapur, and with the booty he took made himself so strong in men, arms and horses, that he found himself able enough to seize some towns, and to form a little state in spite of the king, who died at that time. The queen, who was regent having other affairs in hand, did all she could to reduce Shivaji to duty; but her endeavours being unsuccessful, she accepted of the peace he proposed to her, after which she lived in quiet.

In the meanwhile, the raja, who could not rest, plundered some places belonging to the Great Mogul; which obliged that emperor to send forces against him, under the conduct of Shaista Khan his uncle, governor of Aurangabad. Shaista Khan having far more forces than Shivaji had, vigorously pursued him, but the raja having his retreat always in the mountains, and being extremely cunning the Mogul could make nothing of him.

However that old captain, at length, thinking that the turbulent spirit of Shivaji might make him make some false step, judged it best to temporize, and lay a long while upon the lands of the raja. This patience of Shaista Khan being very troublesome to Shivaji, he had his recourse to a stratagem. He ordered one of his captains to write to that Mogul, and to persuade him that he would come over to the service of the Great Mogul, and bring with him five hundred men whom he had under his command. Shaista Khan having received the letters, durst not trust them at first; but receiving continually more and more, and the captain giving him such reasons for his discontent as looked very probable, he sent him word that he might come and bring his men with him. No sooner was he come into the camp of the Mogul's, but he desired a passport to go to the king that he might put himself into his service: But Shaista Khan thought it enough to put him in hopes of it, and kept him with him.

Shivaji had ordered him to do what he could to insinuate himself into the favour of Shaista Khan, and to spare no means that could bring that about, to show upon all occasions the greatest rancour and animosity imaginable; and in a particular manner to be the first in action against him or his subjects. He failed not to obey him: He put all to fire and sword in the raja's lands, and did much more mischief than all the rest besides; which gained him full credit in the mind of Shaista Khan, who at length made him captain of his guards. But he guarded him very ill, for having one day sent word to Shivaji, that on a certain night he should be upon guard at the general's tent; the raja came there with his men, and being introduced by his captain, came to Shaista Khan who awaking flew to his arms, and was wounded in his hand; however he made a shift to escape, but a son of his was killed, and Shivaji thinking that he had killed the general himself, gave the signal to retreat: He marched off with his captain and all his horse in good order. He carried off the general's treasure, and took his daughter, to whom he rendered all the honour he could. He commanded his men under rigorous pains, not to do her the least hurt, but on the contrary, to serve her with all respect; and being informed that her father was alive, he sent him

word, That if he would send the sum which he demanded for her ransom, he would send him back his daughter safe and sound, which was punctually performed.

He wrote afterwards to Shaista Khan praying him to withdraw, and owned that the stratagem that had been practised was of his own contrivance; that he hatched a great many others for his ruin, and that if he drew not off out of his lands, he should certainly lose his life. Shaista Khan slighted not the advice: He informed the king, that it was impossible to force Shivaji in the mountains, that he could not undertake it, unless he resolved to ruin his troops; and he received orders from court to draw off under pretext of a new enterprise. Shivaji, in the meantime, was resolved to be revenged on the Mogul by any means whatsoever, provided it might be to his advantage, and knowing very well that the town of Surat was full of riches, he took measures how he might plunder it: But that nobody might suspect his design, he divided the forces he had into two camps, and seeing his territories lie chiefly in the mountains, upon the road betwixt Bassein and Chaul, he pitched one camp towards Chaul, where he planted one of his pavilions, and posted another at the same time towards Bassein, and having ordered his commanders not to plunder, but on the contrary, to pay for all they had, he secretly disguised himself in the habit of a faquir. Thus he went to discover the most commodious ways that might lead him speedily to Surat. He entered the town to examine the places of it, and by that means had as much time as he pleased to view it all over.

Being come back to his chief camp, he ordered four thousand of his men to follow him without noise, and the rest to remain encamped, and to make during his absence as much noise as if all were there, to the end none might suspect the enterprise he was about, but think he was still in one of his camps. Everything was put in execution according to his orders. His march was secret enough, though he hastened it to surprise Surat; and he came and encamped near Burhanpur-gate. To amuse the governor who sent to him, he demanded guides under pretence of marching to another place; but the governor without sending him any answer, retired into the fort with what

he had of the greatest value, and sent for assistance on all hands. Most of the inhabitants in consternation forsook their houses and fled into the country. Shivaji's men entered the town and plundered it for the space of four days burning several houses. None but the English and Dutch saved their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the canon they planted, which Shivaji would not venture upon, having none of his own.

Nor durst he venture to attack the castle neither, though he knew very well that the richest things they had were conveyed thither, and especially a great deal of ready money. He was afraid that attack might cost him too much time, and that assistance coming in might make him leave the plunder he had got in the town; besides, the castle being in a condition to make defence, he would not have come off so easily as he had done elsewhere. So that he marched off with the wealth he got. And it is believed at Surat that this raja carried away in jewels, gold and silver, to the value of above thirty French millions; for in the house of one Bannian he found twenty-two pound weight of strung pearls, besides a great quantity of others that were not as yet pierced.

One may indeed wonder that so populous a town should so patiently suffer itself to be plundered by a handful of men; but the Indians for the most part are cowards. No sooner did Shivaji appear with his small body of men, but all fled, some to the country to save themselves at Broach, and others to the castle, whither the governor retreated with the first. And none but the Christians of Europe made good their post and preserved themselves. All the rest of the town was plundered, except the monastery of the Capuchins. When the plunderers came to their convent, they past it by, and had orders from their general to do so, because the first day in the evening, Father Ambrose, who was superior of it, being moved with compassion for the poor Christians living in Surat, went to the raja and spoke in their favour, praying him at least not to suffer any violence to be done to their persons. Shivaji had a respect for him, took him into his protection, and granted what he had desired in favour of the Christians.

The Great Mogul was sensibly affected with the pillage of that town, and the boldness of Shivaji; but his affairs not

suffering him to pursue his revenge at that time, he dissembled his resentment and delayed it till another opportunity.

In the year one thousand six hundred sixty-six, Aurangzeb resolved to dispatch him, and that he might accomplish his design, made as if he approved what he had done, and praised as the action of a brave man, rejecting the blame upon the governor of Surat, who had not the courage to oppose him. He expressed himself thus to the other rajas of court, amongst whom he knew Shivaji had a great many friends, and told them that he esteemed that raja for his valour, and wished he might come to court; saying openly that he would take it as a pleasure if any would let him know so much. Nay he bid one of them write to him, and gave his royal word that he should receive no hurt, that he might come with all security, that he forgot what was past, and that his troops should be so well treated, that he should have no cause to complain. Several rajas wrote what the king had said, and made themselves in a manner sureties for the performance of his word; so that he made no difficulty to come to court, and to bring his son with him, having first ordered his forces to be always upon their guard, under the command of an able officer whom he left to head them.

At first he met with all imaginable caresses, but some months after, perceiving a dryness in the king, he openly complained of it, and boldly told him, that he believed he had a mind to put him to death, though he was come on his royal word to wait upon him, without any constraint or necessity that obliged him to it, but that his majesty might know what man he was, from Shaista Khan and the governor of Surat: That after all if he perished, there were those who would revenge his death; and that hoping they would do so, he was resolved to die with his own hands, and drawing his dagger, made an attempt to kill himself, but was hindered and had guards set upon him.

The king would have willingly put him to death, but he feared an insurrection of the rajas. They already murmured at this usage notwithstanding the promise made to him; and all of them were so much the more concerned for him, that most part came only to court upon the king's word. That consideration obliged Aurangzeb to treat him well, and to make much of his

son. He told him that it was never in his thoughts to have him put to death, and flattered him with the hopes of a good government which he promised him, if he would go with him to Kandahar, which then he designed to besiege. Shivaji pretended to consent, provided he might command his own forces. The king having granted him that, he desired a passport for their coming, and having got it, resolved to make use of it for withdrawing from court. He therefore gave orders to those whom he entrusted with that passport, and whom he sent before under pretence of calling his forces, to provide him horses in certain places which he named to them, and they failed not to do it. When he thought it time to go meet them, he got himself and his son both to be carried privately in panniers to the riverside. So soon as they were over, they mounted horses that were ready for them, and then he told the water-man, that he might go and acquaint the king, that he had carried over Raja Shivaji. They posted it day and night, finding always fresh horses in the places he had appointed them to be brought to; and they passed everywhere by virtue of the king's passport: But the son unable to bear the fatigue of so hard riding, died upon the road. The raja left money to have his body honourably burnt, and arrived afterwards in good health in his own territories.

Aurangzeb was extremely vexed at that escape. Many believed that it was but a false report, and that he was put to death; but the truth soon was known. This raja is short and tawny, with quick eyes that show a great deal of wit. He eats but once a day commonly, and is in good health; and when he plundered Surat in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, he was but thirty-five years of age.

## 17. OF FATHER AMBROSE A CAPUCHIN

FATHER Ambrose of whom I have spoken hath by his virtue and good services acquired a great reputation in the countries of the Mogul, and is equally esteemed of Christians and gentiles. And indeed, he hath a great deal of charity for all. He commonly takes up the difference that happen amongst Christians, and especially the Catholics, and he is so much authorized by the Mogul officers, that if one of the parties be so headstrong as not to be willing to come to an accommodation, by his own authority he can make him consent to what is just. He makes no difficulty to cause a scandalous Christian to be put in prison, and if complaint be made of it to the governor or cotwal, desiring that the prisoner may be set at liberty, they both send the petitioner to the Father, telling him that it is a matter they are not to meddle with. If the supplicant find favour with them, they only offer their intercession with the Capuchin; and one day I saw a man whom he had let out of prison at the entreaty of the cotwal severely chid by that officer, because he had incurred the indignation of Father Ambrose. Those whose lives are too irregular he banishes the town, and the cotwal himself gives him peons to force them out, with orders to conduct them to the place the Capuchin shall appoint.

He employs his interest pretty often for the heathen; and I saw a pagan whom they carried to prison for a slight fault, delivered at his request. He disputes boldly concerning the faith in the governor's presence; and one day he reclaimed a Christian woman debauched by one of the queen's secretaries, who that she might live licentiously, had renounced her religion and embraced the Mahometan, and one morning he himself went and rescued her out of the hands of that gentile. Indeed, his life hath been always without reproach, which is no small praise for a man who lives in a country where there are so many different nations that live in so great disorders, and with whom his charge obliges him to keep company.

artisans who are continually employed in making of them. It hath above two hundred bourgs and villages within its jurisdiction, and there is store of lac to be found therein, because it is gathered in abundance in the territory of one of its bourgs called Sindkheda.

The little town of Goga is on the other side of the Gulf, about eight and twenty or thirty leagues from Cambay. It abounds with Bannians and seamen.

Patan lies more to the south, towards the great sea; it is a great town, heretofore of much trade, and affords still abundance of silk-stuffs that are made there. It hath a fort and very beautiful temple wherein are many marble-pillars. Idols were worshipped there, but at present it serves for a mosque.

The town of Diu belongs to the Portuguese, and lies also in the province of Gujarat, fortified with three castles. It stands at the entry of the Gulf of Cambay to the right hand, in twenty-two degrees eighteen minutes latitude, and two hundred leagues from Cape Comorin. Before Surat and Cambay came into reputation, it had the advantage of most of the commerce that at present is made in those two towns. Its first castle was built in the year fifteen hundred and fifteen, by Albuquerque a Portuguese. Campson the last but one of the Mammelukes of Egypt, set on by the king of Gujarat sent an army against the Portuguese, which perished there. They were not then masters of the town, and had no more but the castle.

Sultan Sulaiman, emperor of the Turks, sent and besieged it in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight, at the desire of the same king of Gujarat, named Bahadur Shah (for that country belonged not then to the Moguls) and his success was no better than that of the Sultan of Egypt. Sulaiman's fleet consisted of threescore and two gallies, six gallions, and a great many other smaller vessels fitted out at Suez in the Red Sea, which had on board four thousand Janisaries, and sixteen thousand other soldiers, not to reckon gunners, seamen, and pilots. It parted from Suez in June, and a pasha called Sulaiman who commanded it, in his passage seized the town of Aden, by horrible treachery, and hanged the king of it.

When this fleet came before Diu, it was joined by fourscore sail of ships of the country, and so soon as the forces were put



ashore, they landed fifty pieces of canon, wherewith they hattered the citadel, which on the other side was besieged by a land-army of the king of Gujarat. Many brave actions happened during that siege. The governor of the citadel called *Silveira*, a Portuguese, showed so much valour and prudence, in resisting the several assaults and attacks of the Turks and Indians, that he forced them to raise the siege shamefully, and to forsake their pavilions, ammunition and artillery, to leave above a thousand wounded men in their camp, above a thousand more that were out a foraging, and fifty pieces of canon besides, which were seized by the Portuguese.

In this town of *Diu* the so much famed stones of cobra are made, they are composed of the ashes of burnt roots, mingled with a kind of earth they have, and once again burnt with that earth, which afterwards is made up into a paste, of which these stones are formed. They are used against the stings of serpents and other venomous creatures, or when one is wounded with a poisonous weapon. A little blood is to be let out of the wound with the prick of a needle, and the stone applied thereto which must be left till it drop off of itself. Then it must be put into woman's milk; or if none can be had, into that of a cow, and there it leaves all the venom it hath imbibed, for if it be not so used, it will burst.

Betwixt *Baroda* and *Ahmedabad*, there are two towns more, of indifferent higness, the one called *Nadiad*, and the other *Mahanadabad*, where many stuffs are made, and the latter furnishes the greatest part of *Gujarat*, and other neighbouring countries with cotton-thread. I shall treat no more here of the other towns of this kingdom, because there being but little worth remarking in them, the description would be tedious. It pays commonly to the Great Mogul twenty millions five hundred thousand French livres a year.

## 19. OF THE PROVINCE AND TOWN OF AGRA

A G R A is one of the largest provinces of Mogulistan, and its capital town which bears the same name, is the greatest town of the Indies. It is distant from Surat about two hundred and ten leagues, which they make commonly in five and thirty or six and thirty days journey of caravan, and it lies in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees and half on the river Jamuna, which some call Geminy, and Phny Jomanes. This river hath its source in the mountains to the north of Delhi, from whence descending towards this town, and receiving several rivulets in its course, it makes a very considerable river. It runs by Agra, and having traversed several countries, falls into the Ganges at a great town of Allahabad.

There is no need of taking the pains that some have done, to have recourse to Bacchus for illustrating Agra by an ancient name. Before King Akbar, it was no more but a bourg which had a little castle of earth, and pretended to no privilege over its neighbours upon account of antiquity; and indeed, there were never any marks of that to be found.

That prince being pleased with the seat of it, joined several villages thereunto. He gave them the form of a town by other buildings which he raised, and called it after his own name Akbarabad, the habitation of Akbar, where he established the seat of his empire, in the year one thousand five hundred threescore and six. His declaration of that was enough to people it; for when the merchants came to understand that the court was there, they came from all parts, and not only the Bannian traders flocked thither, but Christians also of all persuasions, as well as Mahometans, who strove in emulation who should furnish it with greatest variety of goods; and seeing that prince called the Jesuits thither, and gave them a pension to subsist on, Catholic merchants made no scruple to come and live there, and to this day these Fathers take the care of spirituals, and teach their children.

Though this prince pretended to make Agra a place of consequence, yet he fortified it not neither with ramparts, walls,

nor bastions, but only with a ditch, hoping to make it so strong in soldiers and inhabitants, that it should not need to fear the attempts of any enemy. The castle was the first thing that was built, which he resolved to make the biggest at that time in the Indies, and the situation of the old one appearing good and commodious, he caused it to be demolished, and the foundations of the present to be laid. It was begirt with a wall of stone and brick terraced in several places, which is twenty cubits high, and betwixt the castle and river a large place was left for the exercises the king should think fit to divert himself with.

The king's palace is in the castle. It contains three courts adorned all round with porches and galleries that are painted and gilt, nay there are some pieces covered with plates of gold. Under the galleries of the first court, there are lodgings made for the king's guards. The officers' lodgings are in the second, and in the third, the stately apartments of the king and his ladies, from whence he goes commonly to a lovely divan which looks to the river, there to please himself with seeing elephants fight, his troops exercise, and plays which he orders to be made upon the water, or in the open place.

This palace is accompanied with five and twenty or thirty other very large ones, all in a line, which belong to the princes and other great lords of court, and all together afford a most delightful prospect to those who are on the other side of the river, which would be a great deal more agreeable, were it not for the long garden walls, which contribute much to the rendering the town so long as it is. There are upon the same line several less palaces and other buildings. All being desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the water of the Jamuna, endeavoured to purchase ground on that side, which is the cause that the town is very long but narrow, and excepting some fair streets that are in it, all the rest are very narrow, and without symmetry.

Before the king's palace, there is a very large square, and twelve other besides of less extent within the town. But that which makes the beauty of Agra besides the palaces I have mentioned, are the caravanseras which are above threescore in number, and some of them have six large courts with their

porticos, that give entry to very commodious apartments, where stranger merchants have their lodgings: There are above eight hundred baths in the town, and a great number of mosques, of which some serve for sanctuary. There are many magnificent sepulchres in it also, several great men having had the ambition to build their own in their own lifetime, or to erect monuments to the memory of their forefathers

King Jahangir caused one to be built for King Akbar his father, upon an eminence of the town. It surpasses in magnificence all those of the grand signiors, but the fairest of all, is that which Shah Jahan erected in honour of one of his wives called Taj Mahal, whom he tenderly loved, and whose death had almost cost him his life I know that the learned and curious Mr. Bernier hath taken memoirs of it, and therefore I did not take the pains to be exactly informed of that work. Only so much I'll say that this king having sent for all the able architects of the Indies to Agra, he appointed a council of them for contriving and perfecting the tomb which he intended to erect, and having settled salaries upon them, he ordered them to spare no cost in making the finest mausoleum in the world, if they could. They completed it after their manner, and succeeded to his satisfaction.

The stately garden into which all the parts of that mausoleum are distributed, the great pavilions with their fronts, the beautiful porches, the lofty dome that covers the tomb, the lovely disposition of its pillars, the raising of arches which support a great many galleries, quiochques and terraces, make it apparent enough that the Indians are not ignorant in architecture. It is true, the manner of it seems odd to Europeans, yet it hath its excellency, and though it be not like that of the Greeks and other ancients, yet the fabric may be said to be very lovely. The Indians say that it was twenty years in building, that as many men as could labour in the great work were employed, and that it was never interrupted during that long space of time.

The king hath not had the same tenderness for the memory of his father Jahangir, as for that of his wife Taj Mahal, for he hath raised no magnificent monument for him: And that Great Mogul is interred in a garden, where his tomb is only painted upon the portal.

Now after all the air of Agra is very incommodious in the summer-time, and it is very likely that the excessive heat which scorches the sands that environ this town, was one of the chief causes which made King Shah Jahan change the climate, and choose to live at Delbi. Little thought this prince that one day he would be forced to live at Agra, what aversion soever he had to it, and far less still, that he should be prisoner there in his own palace, and so end his days in affliction and trouble. That misfortune though befel him, and Aurangzeb his third son, was the cause of it, who having got the better of his brothers, both by cunning and force, made sure of the king's person and treasures, by means of soldiers whom he craftily slipped into the palace, and under whose custody the king was kept till he died.

So soon as Aurangzeb knew that his father was in his power, he made himself be proclaimed king: He held his court at Delhi, and no party was made for the unfortunate king, though many had been raised by his bounty and liberalities. From that time forward Aurangzeb reigned without trouble, and the king his father dying in prison about the end of the year one thousand six hundred sixty-six, he enjoyed at ease the empire, and that so famous throne of the Moguls, which he had left in the prisoners' apartment to divert him with. He added to the precious stones that were set about it, those of the princes his brothers, and particularly the jewels of begum-saheb his sister, who died after her father; and whose death (as it was said,) was hastened by poison. And in fine, he became absolute master of all, after he had overcome and put to death Dara Shikoh his eldest brother, whom Shah Jahan had designed for the crown. That king is interred on the other side of the river, in a monument which he began, but is not finished.

The town of Agra is populous as a great town ought to be, but not so as to be able to send out two hundred thousand fighting men into the field, as some have written. The palaces and gardens take up the greatest part of it, so that its extent is no infallible argument of the number of its inhabitants. The ordinary houses are low, and those of the commoner sort of people are but straw, containing but few people a piece; and

the truth is, one may walk the streets without being crowded, and meet with no throng but when the court is there: But at that time, I have been told there is great confusion, and infinite numbers of people to be seen; and no wonder indeed, seeing the streets are narrow, and that the king besides his household, (who are many,) is always attended by an army for his guard; and the rajas, omras, mansepdars and other great men, have great retinues, and most part of the merchants also follow the court, not to reckon a vast number of tradesmen, and thousands of followers who have all their subsistence from it.

Some affirm that there are twenty-five thousand Christian families in Agra, but all do not agree in that. This indeed is certain, that there are few heathen and Parsis in respect of Mahometans there, and these surpass all the other sects in power, as they do in number. The Dutch have a factory in the town; but the English have none now, because it did not turn to account.

The officers are the same as at Surat, and do the same duties, and it is just so in all the great towns of the empire. We told you that the faujdar or prevost, is to answer for all the robberies committed in the country, And that was the reason why Mr. Beber, one of the envoys to the Great Mogul, for the concerns of the East-India Company in France, having been robbed, demanded from that officer of Agra, the sum of thirty-one thousand two hundred rupees, which he affirmed were taken from him. That sum astonished the faujdar who told him that he did not believe he had lost so much, and because the envoy made answer that the sum would certainly increase, if he delayed to pay down the money, and if he gave him time to call to mind a great many things which he had forgot; He wrote to the Great Mogul, and informed him that it was impossible that that envoy could have lost so great a sum. Monsieur Beber had also made his addresses at court; but it being pretty difficult to give an equitable sentence in the case, the king, that he might make an end of it, commanded the faujdar to pay the envoy fifteen thousand rupees, and because he was wounded when he was robbed, he ordered him out of his exchequer, ten thousand rupees for his blood.

## 20. OF THE HABITS OF AGRA

FOR SO many different nations as are at Agra, as well as in the rest of the Indies, there is pretty great uniformity in the manner of apparel; and none but the Mahometans called Moors by the Portuguese, distinguish themselves outwardly by a particular kind of coif, or head-attire, but in all things else, they are clothed as the rest. The breeches of the Indians are commonly of cotton-cloth, they come down to the mid leg, and some wear them a little longer, so that they reach to the ankle. They who affect rich clothing, wear silk breeches striped with different colours, which are so long that they must be plated upon the leg, much in the same manner as formerly silk-stockings were worn in France

The shirt hangs over the breeches, as the fashion is all over the Levant. These shirts are fastened as the Persians are, and heretofore had no greater opening than theirs; but because the Moors' shirts are open from top to bottom, as their upper garments, which they call Cabas are; many people at present wear them in that fashion, because they find them, more commodious, being more easily put on and off: Besides that when one is alone, he may open them and take the fresh air

When it is cold weather, the Indians wear over their shirt an arcaluck or just a corps quilted with cotton and pinked, the outside whereof is commonly of a schite or painted stuff. The colours upon them are so good and lively, that though they be soiled by wearing, yet they look as fresh again as at first when they are washed. They make the flowers and other motely colours that are upon the stuffs with moulds

Over the arcaluck they put the caba, which is an upper garment, but then it must be supposed the weather is not hot, for if there be but the least heat, they wear no arcaluck, and the caba is put next the shirt. The caba of the Indians is wider than that of the Persians, and I cannot tell how to express the manner of it more intelligibly, than by saying it is a kind of gown with a long jerkin fastened to it, open before, and pleated from top to bottom, to hinder it from being too clutterly. It hath a collar two fingers breadth high, of the same

stuff with the rest, they button not that vest as we do our coats, but they fold it cross ways over the stomach: first from the right to the left, and then from the left to the right They tie it with ribbons of the same stuff, which are two fingers broad and a foot long, and there are seven or eight of them from the upper part down to the haunches, of which they only tie the first and last, and let the rest hang negligently as being more graceful.

These cabas are commonly made of white stuff, that is to say of cotton cloth, to the end they may be the lighter, and the neater by being often washed, and that agrees with the fashion of the ancient Indians I say of cotton-cloth, because they use no other in the Indies, and have no flax there. Nevertheless some wear them of painted cloth, but that is not the gentlest manner of apparel, and when the rich do not wear white they use silk, and choose the broadest stuff they can find, which commonly is streaked with several colours

They use only one girdle, whereas the Persians have two, nay and it is not very dear neither, being only of white cloth, and it is rare to see the Indians make use of the lovely girdles of Persia, unless they be wealthy persons of quality.

When it is very cold, the Indians wear over all the clothes I have been speaking of, a garment or vest called cadeby, and then the rich have very costly ones. They are of cloth of gold, or other rich stuff, and are lined with sables which cost very dear.

At all times when they go abroad, they wear a shawl which is a kind of toilet of very fine wool made at Kashmir. These shawls are about two ells long and an ell broad; they are sold at five and twenty or thirty crowns a piece if they be fine, nay there are some that cost fifty crowns but these are extraordinary fine. They put that shawl about their shoulders, and tie the two ends of it upon their stomach, the rest hanging down behind to the small of their back Some wear them like a scarf, and sometimes they bring one end to the head, which they dress in manner of a coif They have of them of several colours, but those the Bannians wear are most commonly fild-de-mort, and the poor, or such as will not be at the charges, wear them of plain cloth.



The turban worn in the Indies is commonly little. That of the Mahometans is always white, and the rich have them of so fine a cloth, that five and twenty or thirty ells of it which are put into a turhan, will not weigh four ounces. These lovely cloths are made about Bengal: They are dear, and one single turban will cost five and twenty crowns. They who affect a richer attire, have them mixed with gold, but a turban of that stuff costs several toman, and I have said elsewhere that a toman is worth about forty-five French livres.

These turbans wreathed as they ought to be, much resemble the shape of the head, for they are higher behind by four or five fingers breadth than before, so that the upper part of the head is only well covered; and I have seen peasant women in France, whose coiffing looked pretty like that kind of turban.

The Indians wear their hair for ornament, contrary to the Mahometans who shave their heads, and in that, as in many other things, the Indians imitate their ancestors.

As for stockings the Indians are at no charge, for they use neither stockings nor socks, but put their shoes on their naked feet. The stuff they are made of is maroquin, or Turkey-leather, and they are much of the same shape as the papouches of the Turks, but the persons of quality have them bordered with gold, and they have behind a kind of a heel of the same stuff as the instep, which most commonly they fold down, as they do who go with shoes slipshod. However the Bannians wear the heel of theirs up because being men of business they would walk with freedom, which is very hard to be done, when the foot is not on all sides begirt with the shoe.

The rich Bannians cover the upper leather of theirs with velvet, embroidered with great flowers of silk; and the rest are satisfied with red leather and small flowers, or some other galantry of little value.

The Mogul women who would distinguish themselves from others, are clothed almost like the men; however the sleeves of their smocks, as those of the other Indian women, reach not below the elbow, that they may have liberty to adorn the rest of their arm with carkanets and bracelets of gold, silver and ivory, or set with precious stones, as likewise they do the small of their legs. The ordinary smocks of the Indian idolatrous

women reach down only to the middle, as does the waist-coat of satin or cloth, which they wear over it, because from the waist downwards they wrap themselves up in a piece of cloth or stuff, that covers them to the feet like a petticoat, and that cloth is cut in such a manner, that they make one end of it reach up to their head behind their back.

They wear no other apparel neither within doors, nor abroad in the streets, and for shoes they have high pattins

They wear a little flat ring of gold or silver in their ears, with engraving upon it, and they adorn their noses with rings which they put through their nostril.

Rings also are the ornaments of their fingers, as they are in other places. They wear a great many, and as they love to see themselves, they have always one with a looking glass set in it, instead of a stone, which is an inch in diameter. If these Indian women be idolaters, they go barefaced, and if Mahometans, they are veiled. There are some countries in the Indies, where the women as well as men go naked to the middle, and the rest of their body is only covered to the knee

## 21. OF OTHER CURIOSITIES AT AGRA

THERE are a great many at Agra, who are curious in breeding up of beasts, to have the pleasure to make them fight together. But seeing they cannot reach to elephants and lions, because it costs dear to feed them, most part content themselves with he-goats, weathers, rams, cocks, quails, stags, and antilopes, to entertain their friends with the fightings of these beasts.

The Indian antilopes, are not altogether like those of other countries; they have even a great deal more courage, and are to be distinguished by the horns. The horns of the ordinary antilopes are greyish, and but half as long as the horns of those in the Indies, which are blackish, and a large foot and a half

long. These horns grow winding to the point like a screw; and the faquirs and santons carry commonly two of them pieced together; they are armed with iron at both ends, and they make use of them, as of a little staff.

When they use not a tame leopard for catching of antilopes, they take with them a male of the kind, that is tame, and fasten a rope about his horns with several nooses and doubles, the two ends whereof are tied under his belly; so soon as they discover a herd of antilopes, they slip this male, and he runs to join them: The male of the herd advances to hinder him, and making no other opposition, but by playing with his horns, he fails not to be pestered and entangled with his rival, so that it being uneasy for him to retreat, the huntsman cunningly catches hold of him, and carries him off, but it is easier so to catch the male than the females.

There are pigeons in that country all over green, which differ from ours only in colour: The fowlers take them with bird-lime, in this manner, they carry before them a kind of light shed or screen, that covers the whole body, and has holes in it to see through; the pigeons seeing no man, are not at all scared when the fowler draws near, so that he cunningly catches them, one after another, with a wand and bird lime on it, none offering to fly away. In some places paroquets are taken after the same manner

The Indians are very dexterous at game; they take waterfowl with great facility, as thus The fowlers swim almost upright, yet so, that they have their head above water, which they hide with a pot full of holes, to let in the air, and give them sight. Besides, this pot is covered with feathers, to cheat the ducks, and other fowl, so that when the fowler draws near them, they are not in the least scared, taking that floating head for a fowl, and then the fowler makes sure of them by the feet, which he catches hold of under water, and draws them down. The other ducks seeing nobody, think that their comrades have only dived, and are not at all scared; so that growing acquainted with the feathered head, that still follows them, they are at length all taken, whilst in vain they stay for the return of those who have dived, before they fly away to another place.

The huntsmen of Agra go five days' journey from the town, as far as a mountain called Narwar, where there is a mine of

excellent iron; but their business in going so far is only to catch a kind of wild cows which they call merous, that are to be found in a wood round this hill, which is upon the road from Surat to Golconda; and these cows being commonly very lovely, they make great advantage of them.

One may see a great many pictures in the Indies upon paper and pastboard, but generally they are dull pieces, and none are esteemed but those of Agra and Delhi. However, since those of Agra are for the most part indecent, and represent lascivious postures, worse than those of Aretin, there are but few civil Europeans that will buy them.

They have a way in this town of working in gold upon agat, crystal, and other brittle matters, which our goldsmiths and lapidaries have not. When the Indians would beautify vessels, cups, or coffers, besides the circles of gold they put about them, they engrave flowers and other figures, and also encase stones upon them. They cut leaves of gold to fill up the void spaces of the figures, lay several pieces one upon another, and encase them so artificially in the hollow places, with an iron instrument like a graver, that when the void spaces are filled up, it looks like massy gold. They do the same with stones, they encompass them also with such pieces of leaf-gold, and press them in so close that the stones hold very well.

They make rings about vessels, either about the middle or brims, of a kind of gold made into little round rods, which they beat upon an anvil, till they be reduced into flat thin plates; then they take the measure of the part of the vessel which they would encircle, and having most exactly bent the ring, they solder the two ends of it together, and put it upon the part of the vessel they intend it for, so that it holds very well, provided one have the skill to adjust it true to the place marked. If handles be necessary to the vessels, or locks for the coffers of agat or crystal, they solder them to the ring with the same art that they soldered the two ends of it; but they do it after another way than our goldsmiths do. For that end they make use of little red beans which are black at the end, and are the fruit of a convolvulus, called in Indian ghungchi, and in the Telenghi language, ghurie-ghenza. They peel off the skin which is dry and hard, and taking the inside of the

bean that is yellowish, they grind it upon an iron-plate with a little water till it be dissolved into a liquid solution; then they pound a little bit of borax, mix it with that solution, and with this mixture dawb the ends which they intend to solder, and having heated them with a coal, join them together, so that the two sides close fast and hold extraordinarily well.

This work is performed by poor people, and sometimes by little boys, who do it very skilfully and quickly, for a matter of two crowns for each tola of gold; and something is also given to him that beats and flattens the rods of gold: However none of these people know how to enamel gold

The province of Agra hath above forty towns in its dependence, and, as they say, above three thousand four hundred villages. Fatehpur is one of the towns; it was heretofore called Sikri, and the name Fatehpur, which signifies, The enjoyment of what one desires, was given it by Akbar, because of the happy news he received there of the birth of a son, when he was upon his return from a warlike expedition. This town is about six leagues from Agra, it hath been very lovely, and that Great Mogul in the beginning of his reign, having rebuilt the walls of it, made it the capital of his empire. But the ambitious kings have to make small things great, prompting Akbar to build a town where there was nothing but a village, or at most, but a bourg named Agra, the town of Fatehpur was not only neglected, but hath been since wholly abandoned; for so soon as Agra was become a town, and that the king had given it his name, calling it Akbarabad, a place built by Akbar, he went to reside there and forsook Fatehpur.

Though this town of Fatehpur be much decayed, yet there is still a large square to be seen in it, adorned with fair buildings; and the stately entry of Akbar's palace is still entire, and has adjoining to it one of the loveliest mosques in the east, built by a Mahometan a calender by profession, who lies buried there as a saint. The calenders are dervishes who go barefooted. This mosque is still adorned with all its pillars, and lovely ceilings, and indeed, with all that can beautify a fair temple. Near to it there is a great reservatory which supplied the whole town with water and was the more necessary that all the springs thereabouts are salt; and the unwholsome waters were one of the chief causes that obliged the Great Mogul to settle elsewhere.

Firozabad is one of the towns of Agra. Sidhpur is another, and has a great trade in chintzes or painted clothes Barmer is likewise one, which belongs to a raja who exacts some dues. Jalor stands upon a hill. At Bharatpur lovely tapistry is made. Merta, Ludana, Hindaun, Kanwa, Bayana, and Sikandrabad, are also towns of Agra. These last furnish the best indigo of the Indies. Two leagues from Bayana there are to be seen the ruins of ancient palaces, and other buildings, as also some very considerable ones upon a little hill some leagues from Sikandrabad. At the foot of the hill on the side of that town, there is a lovely valley walled in, divided into several gardens, and the ruins of several buildings, which is not to be wondered at, seeing heretofore Sikandrabad was several leagues long, having been the capital city of a powerful king of the Patans, and the hill itself made part of the town, which was afterwards sacked and ruined by Akbar, when he took it from Raja Salim, who made it his chief garrison and magazine

Upon the road from Agra to Bayana there is a royal house, built by the queen mother of Akbar, with gardens kept in very good order There are also in Bayana some seraghos and a long maidan, but that town is thin of inhabitants Sironj hath also been named to me amongst the towns of the province of Agra, and chintzes are made there, which in beauty come near those of St. Thomas. There are a great many other towns, whose names I know not. The chief rivers that water Agra, are the Jamuna or Geminy, Ganga, Chambal-nadi, Jajau-nadi, Sengar, and a great many smaller.

The king's revenue in this province of Agra, is reckoned to amount to above thirty-seven millions of French livres a year.

## 22. OF THE PROVINCE OR TOWN OF DELHI, OR JAHANABAD

THE province of Delhi bounds that of Agra to the north, and at present the Great Mogul Aurangzeb keeps his court in the chief

city of it, which is about forty-five leagues distant from Agra. In Indostan it is called Jahanabad, and elsewhere Delhi.

The road betwixt these two towns is very pleasant; it is that famous alley or walk one hundred and fifty leagues in length, which King Jahangir, planted with trees, and which reaches not only from Agra to Delhi, but even as far as Lahore. Each half league is marked with a kind of turret: There are three-score and nine or threescore and ten of them betwixt the two capital cities, and besides there are little seraglios or caravan serais, from stage to stage for lodging travellers. However there is nothing worth the observing about these seraglios, unless in that which is called Shah-ki-Sarai, which is six leagues from Agra. In that place there is the ancient temple of an idol, and it may be reckoned amongst the largest and fairest pagodas of the Indies. It was more frequented than now it is, when the Jamuna washed the walls thereof, because of the convenience of ablutions: But though that river hath fallen off almost half a league from it, yet many Indians still resort thither, who forget not to bring with them food for the apes that are kept in an hospital built for them.

Though the road I have been speaking of be tolerable, yet it hath many inconveniencies. One may meet with tigers, panthers and lions upon it; and one had best also have a care of robbers, and above all things not to suffer anybody to come near one upon the road. The cunningest robbers in the world are in that country. They use a certain slip with a running-oose, which they can cast with so much slight about a man's neck, when they are within reach of him, that they never fail, so that they strangle him in a trice. They have another cunning trick also to catch travellers with: They send out a handsome woman upon the road, who with her hair dishevelled, seems to be all in tears, sighing and complaining of some misfortune which she pretends has befallen her: Now as she takes the same way that the traveller goes, he easily falls into conversation with her, and finding her beautiful, offers her his assistance, which she accepts; he had no sooner taken her up behind him on horse-back, but she throws the snare about his neck and strangles him, or at least stuns him, until the robbers (who lie hid) come running in to her assistance and complete what she

hath begun. But besides that, there are men in those quarters so skilful in casting the snare, that they succeed as well at a distance as near at hand, and if an ox or any other beast belonging to a caravan run away, as sometimes it happens, they fail not to catch it by the neck.

There are three towns of Delhi near to one another: The first (which is entirely destroyed, and whereof some ruins only remain,) was very ancient, and the learned Indians will have it to have been the capital town of the states of King Porus, so famous for the war which he maintained against Alexander the Great. It was nearer the source of the Jamuna than the two others that have been built since. The Indians say it had two and fifty gates, and there is still at some distance from its ruins, a stone-bridge, from whence a way hath been made with lovely trees on each side, which leads to the second Delhi, by the place where the sepulchre of Shah Humayun is.

This second town of Delhi is that which was taken by the king, whom they call the first conqueror of the Indies amongst the modern Moguls, though his father Mirza Babar had invaded it before. It was then beautified with a great many stately sepulchres of the Patan kings, and other monuments which rendered it a very lovely town; but Shah Jahan the father of king Aurangzeb, demolished it for the building of Jahanabad. Towards the sepulchre of Humayun, there is a pyramid or obelisk of stone, which by its unknown characters shows a great antiquity, and which is thought in the Indies to have been erected by Alexander's order, after the defeat of Porus. This I cannot believe, because I make no doubt, but that the inscription would then have been in Greek, which is not so.

The third town of Delhi is joined to the remains of the second: Shah Jahan resolving to imitate King Akbar, and to give his name to a new town, caused this to be built of the ruins of the second Delhi, and called it Jahanabad. So the Indians call it at present, though amongst other nations it still retains the name of Delhi. It lies in an open champian country upon the brink of the Jamuna, which hath its source in this province, and runs into the Ganges. The fortress of it is half a league in circuit, and hath good walls with round towers every ten battlements, and ditches full of water, wharfed with



stone, as likewise lovely gardens round it: And in this fort is the palace of the king, and all the ensigns of the royalty.

This town of Delhi or Jahanabad, contrary to that of Agra or Akbarabad, hath no ditches but walls filled up with earth behind, and towers. There is a place towards the waterside for the fighting of elephants, and other exercises, and towards the town there is another very large place where the rajas, who are in the king's pay encamp and keep guard, and where many exercises are performed. The market is also kept in that square, and there puppet-players, jugglers and astrologers show their tricks.

Here I should give a description of the inside of the fort and palace, and having begun with the two elephants at the entry which carry two warriors, speak of the canal that enters into it, of the streets that lead to the several apartments, of the officers and others who are upon the parapets of these streets on duty, of the porticos and stately courts of guard, where the mansepders and emirs or omras keep guard; of the halls where all sorts of artisans, who have the king's pay work; of that great court of the Amcas with its arches, and the consort that is made there, of the Amcas itself, that stately hall adorned with thirty-two marble-pillars, where the king (having all his officers great and small standing before him, with their hands across their breasts) gives every day at noon audience to all who have recourse to his justice.

I should also describe that other court, and inner-hall where the prince gives audience to his ministers, concerning the affairs of his state, and household, and where the omras and other great men repair every evening to entertain the king in the Persian language though they be of different nations. In fine, all the particulars of the palace ought to be described, without forgetting that stately throne of massive gold with its peacock, so much talked of in the Indies, which the Moguls say was begun by Tamerlan, though that be very unlikely: For to whom could King Humayun and his father have entrusted it in the time of their disasters? Seeing the spoils of the Patan kings and other sovereigns of the Indies, who were overcome by the Mogul kings, are converted into jewels and precious stones to adorn it, it is said to be worth above twenty millions

of gold; but who can know the value thereof? since it depends on the stones that make the riches as well as the beauty thereof, whose weight and excellency must be particularly examined, if one would judge of their worth, and by consequence, of the value of the throne.

Though I have had memoirs given me of the palace and that throne, yet I will say no more of them, because I make no doubt but that Monsieur Bernier, who hath lived many years at the court of the Great Mogul, in an honourable employment, and commodious for having a perfect knowledge of the fort, palace, and all that is in them, will give a complete description of the same. I am confident also that he will not omit the town, the chief places whereof are the great mosque with its domes of white marble, and the carvanseria of Begum-Saheb, that princess whom we mentioned before. The two chief streets of Delhi may be reckoned amongst the rarities of it, for they are wide, straight, and very long. They have arches all along on both sides, which serve for shops for those who have their warehouse backwards. Over these arches there is a terrace-walk to take the air on when they come out of their lodgings; and these streets ending at the great square and castle, make the loveliest prospect that can be seen in a town. There is nothing else considerable in Delhi. The ordinary houses are but of earth and canes, and the other streets are so narrow, that they are altogether incommodious.

But that inconvenience seems to contribute somewhat to the reputation of that capital city of the empire of the Mogul, for seeing there is an extraordinary crowd in the streets while the court is there, the Indians are persuaded that it is the most populous city in the world, and nevertheless I have been told, that it appears to be a desert when the king is absent. This will not seem strange if we consider, that the court of the Great Mogul is very numerous, because the great men of the empire are almost all there, who have vast retinues, because their servants cost them but little in diet and clothes, that that court is attended by above thirty-five thousand horse, and ten or twelve thousand foot, which may be called an army; and that every soldier hath his wife, children and servants, who for the most part are married also, and have a great many

children as well as their masters. If to these we add all the drudges and rascally people which courts and armies commonly draw after them, and then the great number of merchants and other trading people, who are obliged to stick to them, because in that country there is no trade nor money to be got but at court. When I say, we consider Delhi void of all those I have mentioned, and of many more still, it will easily be believed, that that town is no great matter when the king is not there; and if there have been four hundred thousand men in it when he was there, there hardly remains the sixth part in his absence. Let us now see what arms the Moguls use.

## 23. OF THE ARMS OF THE MOGULS

THEIR swords are four fingers broad, very thick, and by consequence heavy; they are crooked a little, and cut only on the convexside. The guard is very plain; commonly no more but a handle of iron, with a cross bar of the same underneath the pummel which is also of iron, is neither round nor oval, but is flat above and below like a whirligig, that the sword may not slip out of their hands when they fight. The swords made by the Indians are very brittle; but the English furnish them with good ones brought from England. The Moguls use waist-belts for their swords, they are two fingers broad and have two hangers into which the sword is put, so that the point is always upwards; and all the ordinary sort of people in the Indies carry them commonly in their hand, or upon their shoulder like a musket.

It is their custom also to carry a dagger by their sides, the blade being near a foot long, and above four fingers broad at the handle. They have an odd kind of guard, I don't remember that I have ever seen anything in France relating to arms that looks like it than the handle of some moulds for casting of bullets, or small-shot, it is made of two square bars of iron one

finger broad, and about a foot long, which are parallel, and four inches distant one from another, growing round they join together at the upper part of the blade, and have cross bars of two little iron-rods two inches distant from one another.

The Indians never want one of these daggers by their side, betwixt the girdle and caba, they carry it always bending a little sideways, so that the end of the guard comes pretty high, and the point pretty low upon their stomach. The officers of war have also daggers with an iron-guard, but it is damasked and gilt, and persons of great quality have of them after the Persian fashion, which are less and richer.

Their other offensive arms are the bow and arrow, the javelin or zagaye, and sometimes the pistol. The foot carry a musket, or a pike twelve foot long.

They have cannon also in their towns, but since they melt the metal in diverse furnaces, so that some of it must needs be better melted than others when they mingle all together, their cannon commonly is good for nothing.

The defensive arms of the Indians, are a round buckler about two foot in diameter: It is made of buff, varnished over with black, and hath a great many nails, the heads whereof are above an inch over, with it they defend themselves against arrows and swords.

They have likewise the coat of mail, the cuirats, the head-piece, and a vambrace fastened to the sword; this vambrace is a piece of iron covering the handle almost round, and growing broader as it reaches from the guard of the sword, to the upper part of the pummel, and sometimes higher. It is four or five inches in diameter at that place, and is lined with velvet, or some such like thing in the inside, that it may not hurt the hand: So that by means of that engine, both hand and handle are wholly covered from the enemy's blows.

## OF THE BEASTS AT DELHI

AT DELHI are all sorts of beasts that are known. The king hath many, and private men who are rich, have some also. They have hawks there of all kinds; all kinds of camels, dromedaries, mules, asses, and elephants. They have also elks, and rhinoceroses which are as big as the largest oxen. The ordinary oxen there, are less than ours. Buffaloes they have also, and those of Bengala are the dearest, because they are very stout, and are not at all afraid of lions. Nor do they want dogs of all sorts, but those which are brought from Maurenahar, or Transoxiane, are most esteemed for hunting, though they be small: However the Indian dogs are better for the hare. They have also stags, lions and leopards.

There is abundance of all sorts of horses there. Besides the country breed, which the Moguls make use of, and which are very good horses; they have others also from the country of the Uzbecks, Arabia, and Persia, those of Arabia being most esteemed, and the loveliest of all are constantly reserved for the king. They have neither oats nor barley given them in the Indies, so that foreign horses when they are brought thither, can hardly feed. The way they treat them is thus: Every horse has a groom, he curries and dresses him an hour before day, and so soon as it is day makes him drink, at seven of the clock in the morning, he gives him five or six balls of a composition called donna, made of three pounds of flower, the weight of five paises of butter, and of four paises of jagre, these balls are at first forced down his throat, and so by degrees he is accustomed to that way of feeding, which in some months after, he grows very fond of.

An hour after, the groom gives the horse grass, and continues to do so at certain times, every hour of the day after; and about four of the clock, after noon, he gives him three pound of dried peas bruised; he mingles water with them, and sometimes a little sugar, according to the disposition the horse is in; and when night is drawing on, he carefully prepares his horse's litter, which is of dry dung, laid very thick, which he is very careful to provide. For that end, he gathers all that his

horse hath made, and when that is not sufficient, he buys from others, who are not so much concerned for the convenience of their horses.

At Delhi, as elsewhere, they take care to adorn their horses. The great lords have saddles and housses embroidered, and set sometimes with precious stones, proportionably to the charge they intend to be at. But the finest ornament, though of less cost, is made of six large flying tassels of long white hair, taken out of the tails of wild oxen, that are to be found in some places of the Indies. Four of these large tassels fastened before and behind to the saddle, hang down to the ground, and the other two are upon the horse's head, so that when the rider spurs on his horse to a full speed, or if there be any wind, these tassels flying in the air, seem to be so many wings to the horse, and yield a most pleasant prospect.

There are several sorts of elephants at Delhi, as well as in the rest of the Indies, but those of Ceylon are preferred before all others, because they are the stoutest, though they be the least, and the Indians say that all other elephants stand in awe of them. They go commonly in troops and then they offer violence to nobody, but when they straggle from the rest, they are dangerous. There are always some of them that have the cunning and inclination to do mischief, and in the country these are called, robbers on the highways, because if they meet a man alone, they will kill and eat him.

Strong elephants can carry forty mans; at fourscore pound weight the man. Those of the country of Golconda, Siam, Cochin, and Sumatra, are indeed, less esteemed than the elephants of Ceylon, but they are much stronger, and surer footed in the mountains, and that is the reason, why the great men, (when they are to travel,) provide themselves of those, rather than of the elephants, of Ceylon. However it may be said in general, that elephants, of what country or kind soever they be, are the surest footed of all beasts of carriage, because it is very rare to see them make a trip. But seeing it is chargeable to feed them, and that besides the flesh they give them to eat, and the strong-waters they drink, it costs at least half a pistole a day for the paste of flower, sugar and butter, that must be given to a single one, there are but few that keep them: Nay,

the great lords themselves entertain no great number of them; and the Great Mogul has not above five hundred for the use of his household, in carrying the women in their meghdambars with grates (which are a sort of cages) and the baggage; and I have been assured, that he hath not above two hundred for the wars, of which some are employed in carrying small field-pieces upon their carriages.

When an elephant is in his ordinary disposition, his governor can make him do what he pleases with his trunk. That instrument, which many call a hand, hangs between their great teeth, and is made of cartilages or gristles. He will make them play several tricks with that trunk, salute his friends, threaten those that displease him, beat whom he thinks fit, and could make them tear a man into pieces in a trice, if he had a mind to it. The governor sits on the elephant's neck, when he makes him do anything, and with a prick of iron in the end of a stick, he commonly makes him obey him. In a word, an elephant is a very tractable creature, provided he be not angry, nor in lust; but when he is so, the governor himself is in much danger, and stands in need of a great deal of art, to avoid ruin; for then the elephant turns all things topsy-turvy, and would make strange havoc, if they did not stop him, as they commonly do, with fire-works that they throw at him.

Elephant-hunting is variously performed. In some places they make pit-falls for them, by means whereof they fall into some hole or pit, from whence they are easily got out, when they have once entangled them well. In other places they make use of a tame female, that is in season for the male, whom they lead into a narrow place, and tie her there; by her cries she calls the male to her, and when he is there, they shut him in, by means of some rails made on purpose, which they raise, to hinder him from getting out; he having the female in the meantime on his back, with whom he copulates in that manner, contrary to the custom of all other beasts. When he hath done, he attempts to be gone, but as he comes, and goes to find a passage out, the huntsmen, who are either upon a wall, or in some other high place, throw a great many small and great ropes, with some chains, by means whereof, they so pester and entangle his trunk, and the rest of his body, that afterwards

they draw near him without danger; and so having taken some necessary cautions, they lead him to the company of two other tame elephants, whom they have purposely brought with them, to show him an example, or to threaten him if he be unruly.

There are other snares besides for catching of elephants and every country hath its way The females go a year with their young, and commonly they live about an hundred years Though these beasts be of so great bulk and weight, yet they swim perfectly well, and delight to be in the water So that they commonly force them into it by fire-works, when they are in rage, or when they would take them off from fighting, wherein they have been engaged This course is taken with the elephants of the Great Mogul, who loves to see those vast moving bulks rush upon one another, with their trunk, head, and teeth. All over the Indies, they who have the management of elephants, never fail to lead them in the morning to the river, or some other water The beasts go in as deep as they can, and then stoop till the water be over their backs, so that their guides may wash them, and make them clean all over, whilst by little and little they raise their bodies up again

## 25. OF OTHER CURIOSITIES AT DELHI

THE painters of Delhi are modester than those of Agra, and spend not their pains about lascivious pictures, as they do. They apply themselves to the representing of histories, and in many places, one may meet with the battles and victories of their princes, indifferently well painted. Order is observed in them, the personages have the suitableness that is necessary to them, and the colours are very lovely, but they make faces ill. They do things in miniature pretty well, and there are some at Delhi who engrave indifferently well also, but seeing they are not much encouraged, they do not apply themselves to their



work, with all the exactness they might; and all their care is to do as much work as they can, for present money to subsist on.

There are people in Delhi vastly rich in jewels, especially the rajas who preserve their precious stones from father to son. When they are to make presents, they choose rather to buy, than to give away those which they had from their ancestors: They daily increase them, and must be reduced to an extreme pinch, before they part with them.

There is in this town, a certain metal called tutunac, that looks like tin, but is much more lovely and fine, and is often taken for silver; that metal is brought from China.

They much esteem a greyish stone there, wherewith many sepulchres are adorned; and they value it the more, that it is like Theban stone, or garnet. I have seen in the countries of some rajas, and elsewhere, mosques and pagodas wholly built of them.

The Indians of Delhi cannot make a screw as our locksmiths do; all they do, is to fasten to each of the two pieces that are to enter into one another, some iron, copper, or silver wire, turned screw-wise, without any other art than of soldering the wire to the pieces; and in opening them, they turn the screws from the left hand to the right, contrariwise to ours, which are turned from the right to the left.

They have a very easy remedy in that country, to keep the flies from molesting their horses, when the grooms are so diligent as to make use of it: For all they have to do, is to make provision of citrul flowers, and rub them therewith. But many slight that remedy, because it must be often renewed, seeing the curry-comb and water takes it off. I cannot tell if these flowers have the same virtue in our country.

The women of Delhi are handsome, and the gentiles very chaste; insomuch, that if the Mahometan women did not by their wantonness dishonour the rest, the chastity of the Indians might be proposed as an example to all the women of the east. These Indian women are easily delivered of their children; and sometimes they will walk about the streets next day after they have been brought to bed.

## 26. OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE KING'S BIRTHDAY

THERE is a great festival kept yearly at Delhi, on the birthday of the king regnant. It is celebrated amongst the people, much after the same manner as the Zinat of Turkey which I described in my first Book, and lasts five days, It is solemnized at court with great pomp. The courts of the palace are covered all over with pavilions of rich stuffs; all that is magnificent in precious stones, gold and silver is exposed to view in the halls; particularly the great and glittering throne, with those others that are carried about in progresses, which are likewise adorned with jewels. The fairest elephants decked with the richest trappings, are from time to time brought out before the king, and the loveliest horses in their turns also; and since the first Mogul kings introduced a custom of being weighed in balance, to augment the pleasure of the solemnity, the king in being, never fails to do so.

The balance wherein this is performed, seems to be very rich. They say that the chains are of gold, and the two scales which are set with stones, appear likewise to be of gold, as the beam of the balance does also, though some affirm that all is but gilt. The king richly attired, and shining with jewels, goes into one of the scales of the balance, and sits on his heels, and into the other are put little bales, so closely packed, that one cannot see what is within them: The people are made believe, that these little bales (which are often chained,) are full of gold, silver and jewels, or of rich stuffs; and the Indians tell strangers so, when they would brag of their country, then, they weigh the king with a great many things that are good to eat, and I believe that what is within the bales, is not a whit more precious.

However when one is at the solemnity, he must make as if he believed all that is told him, and be very attentive to the publication of what the king weighs, for it is published, and then exactly set down in writing. When it appears in the register, that the king weighs more than he did the year before, all testify their joy by acclamations, but much more by rich

presents, which the grandees, and the ladies of the haram make to him, when he is returned to his throne, and these presents amount commonly to several millions. The king distributes, first a great quantity of artificial fruit and other knacks of gold and silver, which are brought to him in golden basons; but these knacks are so slight, that the profusion (which he makes in casting them promiscuously amongst the princes, and other great men of his court, who crowd one another to have their share,) lessens not the treasure of his exchequer; for I was assured that all these trifles would not cost one hundred thousand crowns. And indeed, Aurangzeb is reckoned a far greater husband, than a great king ought to be: during five days, there is great rejoicing all over the town, as well as in the king's palace, which is expressed by presents, feasting, bonfires and dances, and the king has a special care to give orders, that the best dancing women and baladines, be always at court.

The gentiles being great lovers of play at dice, there is much gaming, during the five festival days. They are so eager at it in Delhi and Benares, that there is a vast deal of money lost there, and many people ruined. And I was told a story of a Bannian of Delhi, who played so deep at the last festival, that he lost all his money, goods, house, wife and children. At length, he that won them, taking pity on him, gave him back his wife and children; but no more of all his estate, than to the value of an hundred crowns.

To conclude, the province of Delhi, hath no great extent to the south-east, which is the side towards Agra, but is larger on the other sides, especially eastwards, where it hath a great many towns: The ground about it is a excellent, where it is not neglected, but in many parts it is.

The ground about the capital city is very fertile; wheat and rice grow plentifully there. They have excellent sugar also, and good indigo, especially towards Shalamar, which is one of the king's country-houses, about two leagues from Delhi, upon the way to Lahore. All sorts of trees, and fruit grow there also; but amongst others, the ananas are exceeding good. I shall speak of them in the description of the kingdom of Bengala.

It is specified in my Memoire, that this province pays the Great Mogul yearly, between thirty-seven and thirty-eight millions.

## 27. OF THE PROVINCE AND TOWN OF AJMER

THE province of Ajmer, lies to the north-east of Delhi, the country of Sind bounds it to the west. It hath Agra to the east, Multan and Punjab to the north, and Gujarat to the south. This province of Ajmer, hath been divided into three provinces of Bandi, Jaisalmer and Surat, and the capital city at present, is Ajmer, which is distant from Agra, about sixty-two leagues.

It is six leagues from Agra to Fatehpur, 6 leag. to Barambad 7 leag. to Hindaun 7 leag. to Mughal Sarai 6 leag. to Lalsot 7 leag. to Chaksu 4 leag. to Piplo 7 leag. to Mozabad, 5 leag. to Bandar-Sindri. 6 leag. to Manderi. 1 leag. Ajmer.

This town lies in twenty-five degrees and a half, north latitude, at the foot of a very high, and almost inaccessible mountain: There is on the top of it, an extraordinary strong castle; to mount to which, one must go turning and winding for above a league, and this fort gives a great deal of reputation to the province. The town hath stone-walls, and a good ditch, without the walls of it, there are several ruins of fair buildings, which show great antiquity. King Akbar was master of this province, before he built Agra and before it fell into his hands, it belonged to a famous raja, or Rajput, called Haji Khan, who came to Fatehpur, and resigned it to him; and at the same time, did him homage for it.

This raja was Mahometan, as his predecessors had been, and besides a great many ancient marks of Mahometanism, that were in that country in his time, the famous Khwaja Muinuddin Hasan Chisti, who was in reputation of sanctity amongst the Mahometans, was revered at Ajmer; and from all parts, they

came in pilgrimage to his tomb: It is a pretty fair building, having three courts paved with marble; whereof the first is extremely large, and hath on one side, several sepulchres of false saints, and on the other, a reservatory of water, with a neat wall about it. The second court is more beautified, and hath many lamps in it. The third is the loveliest of the three, and there the tomb of Khwaja Mainuddin Hasan Chisti is to be seen in a chapel whose door is adorned with several stones of colour, mingled with mother of pearl. There are besides, three other smaller courts, which have their waters and buildings for the convenience and lodging of Imams, who are entertained to read the Alcoran.

King Akbar had a mind to try as well as the rest, the virtue of this same Khwaja Mainuddin Hasan Chisti; and because he had no male children, he had recourse to his intercession to obtain them. He made a vow to go and visit his tomb, and resolved upon the journey in the bourg of Agra.

Though it be a walk of threescore and two leagues from Agra to Ajmer, yet he performed the pilgrimage on foot, having ordered stone-seats to be made at certain distances, for him to rest on: Nevertheless, he was quite tired out; for being of a hot and stirring nature, he could hardly lay a constraint upon himself to walk softly, so that he fell sick upon it. He entered bare-footed (as the rest did) into the chapel of the mock-saint: There he made his prayers, gave great charity, and having performed his devotion, and read the epitaph of Khwaja Munuddin Hasan Chisti, which is written there in the Persian language; he returned back to the place from whence he came.

As he passed by Fatehpur, he consulted a certain dervish, named Salim, who was esteemed very devout, and the Mahometans say, that this man told him, that God had heard his prayers, and that he should have three sons, at that, Akbar was so well pleased with this prophecy, especially when it began to be fulfilled, that he gave his eldest son the name of the dervish Salim; that town which was called Sikri, the name of Fatehpur, which signifies a place of joy and pleasure, and that he built a very stately palace there, with a design to make it the capital of his empire.

Ajmer is a town of an indifferent bigness, but when the Great Mogul comes there, there is no room to stir in it, especi-

ally when there is any festival, because, besides the court and army, all the people of the country about, flock thither, and some disorder always happens.

Let us speak a little of the feast of Nauroz, which King Jahangir celebrated at Ajmer, where he happened to be one new year's day, for nauroz signifies new day, and by that, is meant, the first day of the year, which begins in March, when the sun enters into Aries.

## 28. OF THE FEAST OF THE NEW YEAR

THE memoirs that were given me observe, that some days before the festival, all the palace was adorned, and especially, the places and halls, into which people were suffered to enter: There was nothing all over but sattin, velvet, cloth and plates of gold: The halls were hung with rich stuffs, flowered with gold and silver. And that where the Great Mogul appeared in his throne, was the most magnificent of all. The cloth of state that covered it, was all set with precious stones; and the floor was covered with a Persian carpet of gold and silver tissue. The other halls had in like manner, their clothes of state, Their foot-carpets, and other ornaments, and the courts were also decked (the most considerable of them) with lovely tents pitched there though they were not so pompous as those which are pitched in the capital cities of the empire, upon a like solemnity. The first day of the feast, the throne was placed in the royal hall, and was covered all over with the jewels of the crown, the number of them was the greater, that there was but one of the king's thrones brought; and that (as it is usual) the jewels of the other little thrones had been taken off, for the adorning of this

The festival began in the seraglio, by a fair that was kept there. The ladies and daughters of the great lords, were permitted to come to it, and the court-ladies of less quality, (who

thought themselves witty enough to make their court, by putting off the curious things that they had brought thither) were the shopkeepers: But these had not all the trade to themselves; for the wives of the omras and rajas (who were allowed to come in) opened shop also, and brought with them the richest goods they could find; and which they thought suited best with the king, and the princesses of his seraglio. Many had occasion by selling, and disputing pleasantly and wittily, about the price of the things, which the king and his wives came to cheapen, to make their husbands court, and to slip in presents to those that could serve them in bettering their fortune, or keeping them as they were.

The king and his begum, paid often double value for a thing, when the shopkeeper pleased them; but that was, when they rallied wittily and gentilely (as people of quality commonly do) in buying and selling: And so it happened, that the wittiest and fairest were always most favoured. All these stranger ladies, were entertained in the seraglio with feasting, and dancings of kanchanis, who are women and maids of a caste of that name, having no other profession but that of dancing: And this fair lasted five days.

It is true, the commodities sold there, were not so fine, nor rich, as they would have been, had the festival been kept in Delhi or Agra; but the best, and most precious things that were to be found in Ajmer, and in the nearest towns, were exposed to sale there; wherewith the king was very well satisfied.

During these rejoicings of the seraglio, the great men, who kept guard, entertained themselves at their posts, or elsewhere, And there were a great many tables served at the king's charges, which gave them occasion to celebrate the nauroz, or new year's feast merrily.

The king appeared daily in the amcas, at his usual hour, but not in extraordinary magnificence before the seventh day; and then the lords (who had every day changed clothes) appeared in their richest apparel. They all went to salute the king, and his majesty made them presents, which were only some galantries of small value, that did not cost him four hundred thousand French livres. The eighth and ninth days, the king also sat on

his throne, (when he was not feasting with his princess (sic) and omras, in one of the out-halls) where he made himself several times familiar with them; but that familiarity excused them not from making him presents. There was neither omra, nor mansepdar, but made him very rich presents; and that of the governor, or tributary of Ajmer, was the most considerable of all. These presents were reckoned in all, to amount to fourteen or fifteen millions. The festival concluded at court, by a review of the king's elephants and horses, pompously equipped; and in the town by a great many fire-works, that came after their feasting. Jahangir, indeed, gave not the princes, and great lords, the equivalent of the presents they made him at this solemnity. But he rewarded them afterwards by offices, and employments. And this is the course the king commonly takes with them, and few complain of it.

## 29. OF THE BEASTS OF THE COUNTRY OF AJMER, AND OF THE SALPETRE

T H E R E is in these countries, a beast like a fox in the snout, which is no bigger than a hare. the hair of it, is of the colour of a stag's, and the teeth like to a dog's. It yields most excellent musk, for at the belly it hath a bladder full of corrupt blood, and that blood maketh the musk, or is rather the musk itself. They take it from it, and immediately cover the place where the bladder is cut, with leather, to hinder the scent from evaporating. But after this operation is made, the beast is not long lived

There are also towards Ajmer, pullets whose skin is all over black, as well as their bones, though the flesh of them be very white, and their feathers of another colour

In the extremity of this province, the maids are very early marriageable, and so they are in many other places of the Indies, where most part can enjoy man, at the age of eight or nine



years, and have children at ten. That is a very ordinary thing in the country, where the young ones go naked, and wear nothing on their bodies, but a bit of cloth to cover their privities.

Most of the children in these countries have the same plays to divert them with, as amongst us: They commonly make use of tops, giggs, and bull-flies in the season; of children's trumpets, and many other toys of that nature. The people are rude and uncivil: The men are great clowns, and very impudent; they make a horrid noise when they have any quarrel, but what passion soever they seem to be in, and what bitter words soever they utter, they never come to blows. The servants are very unfaithful, and many times rob their masters.

There are very venomous scorpions in that country, but the Indians have several remedies to cure their stinging, and the best of all is fire. They take a burning coal, and put it near the wound; they hold it there as long and as near as they can: The venom keeps one from being incommoded by the heat of the fire; on the contrary, the poison is perceived to work out of the wound by little and little, and in a short time after, one is perfectly cured.

The ways of this country being very stony, they shoe the oxen when they are to travel far on these ways. They cast them with a rope fastened to two of their legs, and so soon as they are down, they tie their four feet together, which they put upon an engine made of two sticks in form of an X; and then they take two little thin and light pieces of iron, which they apply to each foot, one piece covering but one half foot, and that they fasten with three nails above an inch long, which are clenched upon the side of the hoofs, as horses with us are shod.

Seeing the oxen in the Indies are very tame, many people make use of them in travelling, and ride them like horses; though commonly they go but at a very slow pace. Instead of a bit, they put one or two small strings through the gristle of the ox's nostrils, and throw over his head a good large rope fastened to these strings, as a bridle, which is held up by the bunch he hath on the fore part of his back, that our oxen have not. They saddle him as they do a horse, and if he be but a

little spurred, he will go very fast, and there are some that will go as fast as a good horse. These beasts are made use of generally all over the Indies, and with them only are drawn wagons, coaches and chariots, allowing more or fewer, according as the load is heavier or lighter.

The oxen are yoked by a long yoke at the end of the pole, laid upon their necks; and the coach-man holdeth in his hand the rope to which the strings that are put through the nostrils are fastened. These oxen are of different sizes, there are great, small, and of a middle size, but generally all very hardy, so that some of them will travel fifteen leagues a day. There is one kind of them, almost six foot high, but they are rare; and on the contrary another, which they call dwarfs, because they are not three foot high; these have a hunch on their back as the rest have, go very fast, and serve to draw small wagons.

They have white oxen there, which are extraordinary dear, and I saw two of them which the Dutch had, that cost them two hundred crowns a piece, they were really lovely, strong and good, and their chariot that was drawn by them, made a great show. When people of quality have lovely oxen, they keep them with a great deal of care, they deck the ends of their horns with sheaths of copper; they use them to clothes as horses are, and they are daily curried and well fed. Their ordinary provender is straw and millet, but in the evening they make each ox swallow down five or six large balls of a paste made of flower, jagre and butter kned together. They give them sometimes in the country, kichery, which is the ordinary food of the poor, and it is called kichery, because it is made of a grain of the same name boiled with rice, water and salt: Some give them dried peas, bruised and steeped in water.

After all, no part of this province is fertile, but the countries about Ajmer, and Surat, for the countries of Jaisalmer, and Bando, are barren. The chief trade of Ajmer is in saltpetre, and there are great quantities of it made there, by reason of the black fat earth that is about it, which is the properest of all other soils to afford saltpetre. The Indians fill a great hole with that earth, and pound it in water with great pounders of very hard timber, when they have reduced it into a liquid mash, they let it rest, to the end the water may imbibe all the

saltpetre out of the earth This mixture having continued so for some time, they draw off what is clear, and put it into great pots, wherein they let it boil, and continually scum it; when it is well boiled, they again drain what is clear out of these pots, and that being congealed and dried in the sun, where they let it stand for a certain time, it is in its perfection; and then they carry it to the sea-port towns, and especially to Surat, where the Europeans and others buy it to ballast their ships with, and sell elsewhere.

This province of Ajmer, pays commonly to the Great Mogul, thirty-two or thirty-three millions, notwithstanding the barren places that are in it.

## 30. OF THE PROVINCE OF SIND OR SINDY

SIND or Sindy, which some call Tatta, is bounded with the province of Ajmer to the east; and the mountains which border it on that side, belong to the one or other country. It hath Multan to the north, to the south, a desert and the Indian Sea; and to the west, Mekran and Sistan It reaches from south to north, on both sides the River Indus, and that river is by the orientals called also Sindy or Sinde. On the banks of it was fought that famous battle betwixt Chingiz Khan, first emperor of the Tartars or ancient Moguls, and the Sultan Jalaluddin, which decided the destiny of the empire in favour of the former, against the Khwarizm princes, who had for a long time been masters of the kingdom of Persia, of all Chagtai, and of the greatest part of the country of Turquestan.

The chief town of this province is Tatta, and the most southern town, Debal. It is still called Debal-Sindhī, and was heretofore called Dobil. It lies in the four and twentieth or five and twentieth degree of latitude There are some orientals, that call the country of Sind, by the name of the kingdom of Debal. It is a country of great traffic, and especially in the

town of Tatta, where the Indian merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the inhabitants, who are wonderfully ingenious in all kind of arts. The Indus makes a great many little island towards Tatta, and these islands being fruitful and pleasant, make it one of the most commodious towns of the Indies, though it be exceeding hot there

There is also a great trade at Lahri-Bandar, which is three days' journey from Tatta, upon the sea, where there is a better road for ships, than in any other place of the Indies. The finest palanquins that are in all Indostan, are made at Tatta, and there is nothing neater, than the chariots with two wheels, which are made there for travelling. It is true, they have but few coaches, because few Europeans go thither, and hardly any of the Indians make use of coaches but they, but these chariots are convenient enough for travelling, and are not harder than coaches. They are flat and even, having a border four fingers broad, with pillars all round, more or fewer, according to the fancy of him for whom it is made, but commonly there are but eight, of which there are four at the four corners of the engine, the other four at the sides, and thongs of leather are interwoven from pillar to pillar, to keep one from falling out. Some, (I confess,) have the chariot surrounded with ballisters of ivory, but few are willing to be at the charges of that, and the custom of making use of that network of leather, makes that most part cares not for ballisters, but go so about the town, sitting after the Levantine manner, upon a neat carpet that covers the bottom of the chariot. Some cover it above with a slight imperial, but that commonly is only when they go into the country, to defend them from the sun-beams.

This machine hath no more but two wheels put under the side of the chariot, and not advancing outwards, they are of the height of the fore wheels of our coaches, have eight square spokes, are four or five fingers thick, and many times are not shod Hackney-coaches to travel in, with two oxen, are hired for five and twenty pence, or half a crown a day, but whatever ease the Indians may find in them, our coaches are much better, because they are hung.

The wheels of wagons or carts, for carrying of goods, have no spokes, they are made of one whole piece of solid timber,

in form of a millstone, and the bottom of the cart, is always a thick frame of wood. These carts are drawn by eight or ten oxen, according to the heaviness of the loads. When a merchant conveys anything of consequence, he ought to have four soldiers, or four peons, by the sides of the wagon, to hold the ends of the rope that are tied to it, to keep it from overturning, if it come to heeld in bad way and; that way is used in all caravans, though commonly they consist of above two hundred wagons.

### 31. OF PALANQUINS

INDIANS that are wealthy, travel neither in chariots nor coaches: They make use of an engine which they call palanquin, and is made more neatly at Tatta, than anywhere else. It is a kind of coach with four feet, having on each side ballisters four or five inches high, and at the head a feet a back-stay like a child's cradle, which sometimes is open like ballisters, and sometimes close and solid. This machine hangs by a long pole, which they call pambou, by means of two frames nailed to the feet of the couch, which are almost like to those that are put to the top of moving doors, to fasten hangings by; and these two frames which are the one at the head, and the other at the opposite end, have rings through which great ropes are put, that fasten and hang the couch to the pambon.

The pambous that serve for palanquins, are thick round canes five or six inches in diameter, and four fathom long, crooked arch-wise in the middle, so that on each side from the bending, there remains a very straight end, about five or six foot long. On the bending of the pambou, there is a covering laid of two pieces of cloth sewed together, betwixt which at certain distances, there are little rods cross-ways, to hold the clothes, so that they may conveniently cover the palanquin. If a woman be in it, it is covered close over with red-serge,

or with velvet if she be a great lady: And if they be afraid of rain, the whole machine is covered over with a waxed cloth. In the bottom of these palanquins, there are mats and cushions to lie or sit upon, and they move or ease themselves by means of some straps of silk that are fastened to the pambou, in the inside of the machine.

Every one adorns his palanquin according to his humour, some have them covered with plates of carved silver, and others have them only painted with flowers and other curiosities, or beset round with gilt balls, and the cases or cages, wherein hang the vessels that hold the water which they carry with them to drink, are beautified in the same manner, as the body of the palanquin. These machines are commonly very dear, and the pambou alone of some of them, costs above an hundred crowns, but to make amends for that, they have porters at a very easy rate, for they have but nine or ten livres a piece by the month, and are obliged to diet themselves: It requires four men to carry a palanquin, because each end of the pambou rests upon the shoulders of two men; and when the journey is long, some follow after to take their turn, and ease the others when they are weary.

Sind, of which we have been speaking, yields not the Great Mogul, above three million four hundred thousand French livres a year.

## 32. OF THE PROVINCE OF MULTAN

MULTAN, which comprehends Bukkur, has to the south the province of Sind, and to the north the province of Kabul; as it hath Persia to the west, and the province of Lahore to the east. It is watered with many rivers that make it fertile. The capital town which is also called Multan, was heretofore a place of very great trade, because it is not far from the River Indus, but seeing at present, vessels cannot go up so far, because the channel of that river is spoilt in some places, and the mouth

of it full of shelves, the traffic is much lessened, by reason that the charge of land-carriage is too great. However the province yields plenty of cotton, of which vast numbers of cloths are made. It yields also sugar, opium, brimstone, galls, and store of camels, which are transported into Persia, by Ghazni, and Kandahar, or into the Indies themselves by Lahore; but whereas the commodities went heretofore down the Indus at small charges, to Tatta, where the merchants of several countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by land as far as Surat, if they expect a considerable price for them.

The town of Multan is by some geographers attributed to Sind, though it makes a province by itself. It lies in twenty-nine degrees forty minutes north latitude, and hath many good towns in its dependance, as Kahrur or Khardar, Khanewal, Sitpur, and others. It furnishes Indostan with the finest bows that are to be seen in it, and the nimblest dancers. The commanders and officers of these towns are Mahometans and by consequence, it may be said, that most part of the inhabitants are of the same religion: But it contains a great many Bannians also, for Multan is their chief rendezvous for trading into Persia, where they do what the Jews do in other places; but they are far more cunning, for nothing escapes them, and they let slip no occasion of getting the penny, how small soever it be.

The tribe of these Bannians, is the fourth in dignity amongst the castes, tribes, or sects of the gentiles, of whom we shall treat in the sequel of this relation. They are all merchants and brokers, and are so expert in business, that hardly anybody can be without them. They give them commissions of all kinds, though it be known that they make their profit of everything, yet men choose rather to make use of them, than to do their business themselves, and I found often by experience, that I had what they bought for me, much cheaper, than what I bought myself, or made my servants buy. They are of a pleasing humour, for they reject no service, whether honourable or base, and are always ready to satisfy those who employ them; and therefore every one hath his Bannian in the Indies, and some persons of quality entrust them with all they have, though they be not ignorant of their hypocrisy and avarice. The richest

merchants of the Indies are of them and such I have met with in all places where I have been in that country. They are commonly very jealous of their wives, who at Multan are fairer than the men, but still of a very brown complexion, and love to paint.

At Multan there is another sort of gentiles, whom they call Khatri. That town is properly their country, and from thence they spread all over the Indies; but we shall treat of them when we come to speak of the other sects. both the two have in Multan a pagoda of great consideration, because of the affluence of people, that came there to perform their devotion after their way; and from all places of Multan, Lahore, and other countries, they come thither in pilgrimage. I know not the name of the idol that is worshipped there, the face of it is black, and it is clothed in red leather. It hath two pearls in place of eyes, and the emir or governor of the country, takes the offerings that are presented to it. To conclude, the town of Multan is but of small extent for a capital, but it is pretty well fortified, and is very considerable to the Mogul, when the Persians are masters of Kandahar, as they are at present.

What the Great Mogul receives yearly from this province, amounts to seventeen millions, five hundred thousand livres.

### 33. OF THE PROVINCE OF KANDAHAR

BEFORE I speak of the eastern provinces of the Indies, I shall proceed to treat of those which are to the west of the Indus, or towards the rivers that make part of it. Kandahar is one of them; though the chief town of it belong at present to the king of Persia, who took it from Shah Jahan, contrary to the will of his grandmother, which cost her her life. It is said, that that lady got money from the Great Mogul, to hinder the siege of this town. Her grandson being ready to march, she made him a thousand entreaties to divert him from the expedition; and finding that she could gain nothing of him by



fair means, she fell into a passion, and upbraided him that he was going to squander away the estate of orphans. This discourse so offended the king, that having asked her if that estate belonged to any but to him, he cut her over the head with an axe that he held in his hand, of which she died.

This province hath to the north the country of Balkh, whereof an Uzbek prince is sovereign. To the east it hath the province of Kabul, to the south that of Bucor, which belongs to Multan, and part of Sigestan, which is of the kingdom of Persia; and to the west, other countries of the king of Persia. The province is very mountainous, and Kandahar its chief town, lies in the twenty-third degree of latitude, though some travellers have placed it in the four and thirtieth.

That country produces abundantly all sorts of provisions that are necessary for the subsistence of its inhabitants, unless it be on that side which lies towards Persia, where it is very barren. Everything is dear in the chief town, because of the multitude of foreign merchants that resort thither, and it wants good water. The town of Kandahar is considerable by its situation; and every one knows that the Persian and Mogul both pretend to it. The former has in it at present a garrison of nine or ten thousand men, lest it should be surprised by the Mogul, and being besides a town of great importance, it is fortified with good walls, and hath two citadels.

The trade that it hath with Persia, the country of the Uzbeks and Indies, makes it very rich; and for all the province is so little, it heretofore yielded the Mogul betwixt fourteen and fifteen millions a year. There is no province in Indostan where there are fewer gentiles. The inhabitants are great lovers of wine, but they are prohibited to drink any; and if a Moor who hath drank wine, commit any scandal, he is set upon an ass, with his face to the tail, and led about the town, attended by the officers of the Kotwal, who beat a little drum, and they are followed by all the children, who hoop and hallow after them. Though there be no province of Indostan, where there are fewer gentiles: yet there are Bannians there, because of traffic; but they have no public pagoda: and their assemblies for religion are kept in a private house, under the direction of a Bramen, whom they entertain for performing their ceremonies.

The King of Persia suffers not the gentiles' wives there to burn themselves when their husbands are dead. There are a great many Parsis or Guebres there, but they are poor, and the Mahometans employ them in the meanest and most servile drudgeries. They perform the ceremonies of their religion on a mountain not far distant from the town, where they have a place, wherein they preserve the fire which they worship. I have spoken of these people in my Book of Persia.

The same officers are in Kandahar, as in the towns of the kingdom of Persia, and do the same duties: but above all things, they have special orders to treat the people gently, because of the proximity of the Moguls, and if they oppress them in the least, they are severely punished for it.

There are some small rajas in the mountains, who are suffered to live in liberty, paying some easy tributes, and these gentlemen have always stuck to the strongest side, when the country came to change its master. There is also a little country in the mountains which is called Peria, that is to say, Fairy-land, where Father Ambrose a Capuchin spent a Lent upon the mission in two bourgs, whereof the one is named Cheboular, and the other Cosne; And he told me that that country is pleasant enough, and full of good honest people: but that the Christians who are there, have but slight tinctures of religion.

#### 34. OF THE PROVINCE OF KABUL, OR KABULISTAN

KABULISTAN is limited to the north by Tartary, from which it is separated by Mount Caucasus, which the Orientals call Caf-Dagai. Kashmir lies to the east of it. It hath to the west Zabulistan, and part of Kandahar; and to the south, the country of Multan. Two of the rivers that run into the Indus, have their source in the mountains thereof, from whence they water the province, and for all that, render it nothing the

more fruitful; for the country being very cold, is not fertile, unless in those places that are sheltered by mountains: Nevertheless it is very rich because it hath a very great trade with Tartary, the country of the Uzbeks, Persia, and the Indies. The Uzbeks alone sell yearly above threescore thousand horses there, and that province lies so conveniently for traffic, that what is wanting in it, is brought from all parts, and things are very cheap there.

The chief town of the province is called Kabul, a very large place with two good castles. And seeing kings have held their courts there, and many princes successively have had it for their portion; there are a great many palaces in it. It lies in thirty-three degrees and a half north latitude: mirabolans grow in the mountains of it, and that is the reason why the Orientals call it Kabuly. There are many other sorts of drugs gathered there; and besides that, they are full of aromatic trees, which turn to good account to the inhabitants as also do the mines of a certain iron, which is fit for all uses. From this province especially come the canes, of which they make halbards and lances, and they have many grounds planted with them. Caboulistan is full of small towns, burroughs and villages, most of the inhabitants are heathen: and therefore there are a great many pagodas there. They reckon their months by moons, and with great devotion celebrate their feast, called Holi, which lasts two days. At that time their temples are filled with people, who came to pray and make their oblations there, the rest of the celebration consists in dancing by companies in the streets, to the sound of trumpets. At this feast, they are clothed in a dark red, and many go to visit their friends in masquerade.

Those of the same tribe eat together, and at night they make bonfires in the streets. That feast is celebrated yearly at the full moon in February, and ends by the destruction of the figure of a giant; against which a little child shoots arrows, to represent what the people are made to believe, to wit, that God coming into the world under the name of Krishna, he appeared in shape of a child, that a great giant that feared to be undone by him, endeavoured to ruin him: But that that child hit him so dexterously with an arrow, that he laid him dead upon the ground. These people seem heretofore to have been Christians;

but if they have had any tincture of it, it is much corrupted by the fables and strange tales that have been told them concerning the same, to which they conform their lives and religion. Their chief charity consists in digging a great many wells, and in raising several houses, at certain distances, upon the highways; for the convenience of travellers. And by these little houses, there is always a place fit for those who are weary and heavy loaded, to rest in; so that they can put off, or take up their burden without anybody's help.

This country supplies the rest of the Indies with many physicians, who are all of the caste of Bannians. Nay, and some of them are very skilful, and have many secrets in medicine, and amongst other remedies, they often make use of burning. The Great Mogul has not out of this province about four or five millions a year.

## 35. OF THE PROVINCE OF KASHMIR

THE kingdom or province of Kashmir, hath to the west Caboulistan, to the east, part of Tibet, to the south, the province of Lahore; and to the north, Tartary. But these are its most remote limits; for it is bounded and encompassed on all hands by mountains, and there is no entry into it, but by by-ways and narrow passes. This country belonged sometimes to the kings of Turquestan, and is one of those which were called Turchind, that is to say, the India of the Turks, or the Turkey of the Indies.

The waters of the mountains that environ it, afford so many springs and rivulets, that they render it the most fertile country of the Indies, and having pleasantly watered it, make a river called Tchenas, which having communicated its waters for the transportation of merchant's goods through the greatest part of the kingdom, breaks out through the breach of a mountain, and near the town of Atoc, discharges itself into the Indus;

but before it comes out, it is discharged by the name of a lake, which is about four leagues in circuit, and adorned with a great many isles that look fresh and green, and with the capital town of the province that stands almost on the banks thereof. Some would have this river to be the Moselle, but without any reason; for the Moselle runs through Caboulistan, and is the same that is now called Behat or Behar; because of the aromatic plants that grow on the sides of it.

The town of Kashmir, which bears the name of the province, and which some call Srinagar, lies in the five and thirtieth degree of latitude, and in the hundred and third of longitude. This capital city is about three quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth. It is about two leagues from the mountains, and hath no walls. The houses of it are built of wood, which is brought from these mountains, and for the most part are three stories high, with a garden, and some of them have a little canal which reaches to the lake, whither they go by boat to take the air. This little kingdom is very populous, hath several towns, and a great many bourgs. It is full of lovely plains, which are here and there intercepted by pleasant little hills, and delightful waters; fruits it hath in abundance, with agreeable verdures. The mountains which are all inhabited on the sides, afford so lovely a prospect by the great variety of trees, amongst which stand mosques, palaces, and other structures, that it is impossible perspective can furnish a more lovely landskip. The Great Mogul hath a house of pleasure there, with a stately garden, and the magnificence of all is so much the greater, that the king who built it, adorned it with the spoils of the gentiles' temples, amongst which there are a great many precious things.

King Akbar subdued this kingdom, which was before possessed by a king named Yusuf Khan. He being victorious in all places, wrote to this prince that there was no appearance he could maintain a war against the emperor of the Indies, to whom all other princes submitted; that he advised him to do as they had done; and that he promised him, if he would submit willingly, without trying the fortune of war, he would use him better than he had done the rest; and that his power instead of being lessened, should be increased, seeing he was resolved to

deny him nothing that he should ask Yusuf Khan (who was a peaceable prince) thinking it enough to leave his son in his kingdom, came to wait upon the Great Mogul at the town of Lahore, trusting to his word. He paid him homage; and the emperor having confirmed the promise which he made to him in his letters, treated him with all civility

In the meantime Prince Yakub, Yusuf's son, would not stop there. For being excited by the greatest part of the people of the kingdom, who looked upon the dominion of the Moguls as the most terrible thing imaginable, he caused himself to be proclaimed king, made all necessary preparations in the country, and at the same time secured the passes and entries into it, which was not hard to be done, because there is no coming to it, but by streights and narrow passes which a few men may defend. His conduct highly displeased the Great Mogul, who thought at first that there was intelligence betwixt the father and son, but he found at length, that there was none. And without offering any bad usage to the father, he sent an army against Kashmir, wherein he employed several great lords and officers of war, who had followed Yusuf Khan. He had so gained them by his civilities and promises, that they were more devoted to him, than to their own prince, and they being perfectly well acquainted with the streights and avenues of the mountains, introduced the Moguls into the kingdom, some through places that belong to them, and others by by-ways that could not possibly have been found, without the conduct of those who knew the country exactly. They succeeded in their design the more easily, that King Yakub thought of nothing but guarding the most dangerous places, and especially the pass of Bhimbar, which is the easiest way for entering into Kashmir.

The Moguls having left part of their army at Bhimbar, to amuse Prince Yakub, and his forces marched towards the highest mountains, whither the Omras of Kashmir led them: There they found small passages amongst the rocks, that were not at all to be mistrusted: By these places they entered one after another, and at length, meeting in a place where the rendezvous was appointed, they had men enough to make a body sufficiently able to surprise (as they did in the night-time) the capital city which wanted walls, where Yakub Khan was taken.

Nevertheless Akbar pardoned him, and allowed him and his father, each of them a pension for their subsistence: But he made sure of the kingdom which he reduced into a province. He annexed it to the empire of Mogolistan, and his successors have enjoyed it to this present, as the pleasantest country in all their empire. It yields not the Great Mogul yearly, above five or six hundred thousand French livres.

### 36. OF THE PROVINCE OF LAHORE AND OF THE VARTIAS

IT IS about forty-eight or fifty leagues from Lahore to the borders of Kashmir, which is to the north of it, as Delhi is to the south; and Lahore is a hundred leagues from Delhi, for they reckon two hundred cosses from the one town to the other, and the cosses or half leagues are long in that country. *Multan lies to the west of Lahore, and is distant from it three-score and odd leagues; and to the east of it there are high mountains, in many places inhabited by rajas, of whom some are tributary to the Great Mogul, and others not, because having strong places to retreat into, they cannot be forced, though the merchants suffer much by their robberies; and when they travel in that country, they are obliged to have a guard of soldiers to defend the caravans from these robbers.*

Lahore lies in thirty-one degrees fifty minutes latitude, near the river Ravi, which falls into the Indus as the others do. The Moguls have given that province the name of Punjab, which signifies the five rivers, because five run in the territory of it. These rivers have received so many particular names from the moderns that have spoken of them, that at present it is hard to distinguish them one from another; nay, and most part of these names are confounded, though Pliny distinguished them by the names of Acelines, Cophis, Hydarphe, Zaradras and Hispalis. Some moderns call them Behat, Canab, Sind, Ravi, Van; and others give them other appellations, which

are not the names of the country, or at least which are not given them, but in some places of it they run through. However, all these rivers have their sources in the mountains of the north, and make up the Indus, that for a long way, goes by the name of Sind, into which they fall; and that is the reason why this river is sometimes called Indy, and sometimes Sindy. The chief town is not now upon the Ravi as it was for a long time, because that river having a very flat channel, has fallen off from it above a quarter of a league.

This hath been a very pretty town when the kings kept their courts in it, and did not prefer Delhi and Agra before it. It is large, and hath been adorned as the others are with mosques, public baths, caravanserais, squares, tanks, palaces and gardens. The castle remains still, for it is strongly built, heretofore it had three gates on the side of the town, and nine towards the country, and the king's palace within it, hath not as yet lost all its beauty. There are a great many pictures upon the walls, which represent the actions of the Great Moguls, their forefathers that are pompously painted there; and on one gate there is a crucifix and the picture of the Virgin on another, but I believe these two pieces of devotion were only put there by the hypocrisy of King Jahangir, who pretended a kindness for the Christian religion to flatter the Portuguese. Many of the chief houses of the town run into decay daily, and it is pity to see in some streets (which are above a league in length) palaces all ruinous. Nevertheless the town is not old, for before King Humayun, it was at best but a bourg. That king made a city of it, built a castle, and kept his court there, and it increased so in a short time, that with the suburbs it made three leagues in length. As there are a great many gentiles in this town, so are there many pagodas also, some of them are well adorned, and all raised seven or eight steps from the ground.

Lahore is one of the largest and most abundant provinces of the Indies; the rivers that are in it render it extremely fertile, it yields all that is necessary for life; rice, as well as corn and fruits are plentiful there, there is pretty good wine in it also, and the best sugars of all Indostan. There are in the towns manufactures, not only of all sorts of painted clothes, but also of every thing else that is wrought in the Indies; and indeed, accord-



ing to the account of my Indian, it brings in to the Great Mogul above thirty-seven millions a year, which is a great argument of its fruitfulness. I have already said, that the great walk of trees (which begins at Agra) reaches as far as Lahore, though these two towns be distant from one another an hundred and fifty leagues, that lovely alley is very pleasant, because the achy trees (wherewith it is planted) have long and thick branches which extend on all sides, and cover the whole way; there are also a great many pagodas upon the road from Lahore to Delhi, and especially towards the town of Thaneshwar, where idolatry may be said to be freely professed.

There is a convent of gentiles there, who are called Vartias, that have their general, provincial and other superiors, they say that it is above two thousand years since they were founded. They vow obedience, chastity and poverty, they strictly observe their vows, and when any one trespasses against them, he is rigorously punished. They have brothers appointed to beg for all the convent; they eat but once a day, and change their house every three months, they have no fixed time for their noviciat; some perform it in two years, some in three, and there are others who spend four years therein, if the superior think fit. The main point of their institution is not to do to others what they would not have others do to them, that precept they observe even towards beasts, for they never kill any, and much more towards men, seeing if anybody beat them, they do not resist, and if they be reviled, they make no answer. They obey the least signal of their superior without murmuring, and it is forbidden to them to look a woman or maid in the face; they wear nothing on their bodies but a cloth to cover their privy parts, and they bring it up to their heads to make a kind of a coif like that of a woman, they can possess no money, are prohibited to reserve anything for tomorrow to eat, and how hungry soever they may be, they patiently wait till their purveyors bring them the alms, which are daily given them at the houses of the gentiles of their tribe; they take but little, that they may not be troublesome to anybody, and therefore they receive no more at every place but a handful of rice, or some other eatable matter, and if more be offered them, they will refuse it, they take nothing but what is boiled

and dressed, for they kindle no fire in their house, for fear some fly may burn itself therein, when they have got charity enough, they return to the convent, and there mingle all the rice, lentils, milk, cheese, and other provisions they have got together. Then an officer distributes all equally among the Vartias, who eat their portions severally cold or hot, as it is given them, and drink nothing but water

They make their meal about noon, which serves them for the whole day, let hunger or thirst press them never so much, they must wait till the same hour next day, before they either eat or drink.

The rest of the day they employ in prayers, and reading of books, and when the sun sets, they go to sleep, and never light a candle. They all lie in the same chamber, and have no other bed but the ground. They cannot of themselves leave the orders after they have once taken the vows; yet if they commit any fault contrary to their vows, and especially against that of chastity, they are expelled, not only the order, but also their tribe. The general, provincials, and all the officers change their convent every four months their office is for life, and when any of them dies, he names to the religious, him whom he thinks fittest to succeed, and they follow his choice. These Vartias have above ten thousand monasteries in the Indies, and some of them are more austere than others. Nay their (sic) are some who think it enough to worship God in spirit, and these have no idols, and will have no pagoda near them. There are also religious nuns in some places, who live very exemplarily

### 37. OF THE PROVINCES OF OUDH AND BERAR

THE two provinces of Oudh and Berar, are so little frequented by the Moguls, that they (from whom I asked an account of them,) could give me none, though they were pretty well acquainted with the rest of Mogulistan, and therefore I

(asfar as I could learn,) contains the most northern countries that belong to the Mogul, as Gakkar, Bangash, Nagarkot, Siba, and others: And that of Berar consists of those which are most north-eastward, to wit, Gaur, Patna, Gondwana, and some others.

These two provinces being everywhere watered with the rivers which run into the Ganges, are very fertile; notwithstanding the mountains that are in them, which makes them exceeding rich. The province of Oudh, yields the Great Mogul above ten millions, and that of Berar, more than seven and twenty a year. The great gains that these two provinces, and that which is next them, make from the strangers of the north and east, are the cause of such considerable revenues as the Mogul draws out of them, and they are so much the greater, that (these countries being remote from the sea,) no Europeans share with them therein.

There are many rajas in both, who (for the most) part, own not the authority of the Great Mogul. There are two pagodas of great reputation in Oudh, the one at Nagarkot, and the other at Jwalamukhi, but that of Nagarkot is far more famous than the other, because of the idol Mata, to which it is dedicated; and they say that there are some gentiles, that come not out of that pagoda without sacrificing part of their body. The devotion which the gentiles make show of at the pagoda of Jwalamukhi, proceeds from this, that they look upon it as a great miracle, that the water of the town which is very cold, springs out of a rock, that continually belches out flames. That rock of Jwalamukhi, is of the mountain of Balaghat, and the Bramens (who govern the pagoda,) make great profit of it.

### 38. OF THE PROVINCE OF BECAR, AND OF THE CASTLES OF TRIBES OF THE INDIES

THE province of Becar, which comprehends the countries of Douab, Jesuat and Orissa, is also watered by the rivers that

discharge themselves into the Ganges. It lies not only to the east of Delhi, but is also the most eastern province of Mogulistan, by the country of Orissa, which shuts it in with its mountains: And that great province being rich, by reason of the fertility thereof, yields to the Great Mogul yearly above fourteen millions. It contains several good towns, but the best are Sambal, Mainpuri, Rajpur, Jagannath, and above all Bikaner, which at present is the capital, standing to the west of the Ganges.

In this province of Becar, and in the two former, there are of all the castes and tribes of the Indians, which are reckoned in all to be fourscore and four in number. Though all of them profess the same religion, yet the ceremonies of every one of these castes, nay, and of the private persons of each caste, are so different, that they make an infinite number of sects. The people of every one of these tribes follow a trade, and none of their offspring can quit it, without being reckoned infamous in his tribe. For example, the Bramens (who make the first tribe) profess doctrine, and so do their children, without ever forsaking that profession. The second, is the tribe of the Kshatriyas or Rajputs who make profession of arms: Their children profess the same, or ought to do it, because they all pretend to be descended of princes of the gentiles; Not but some of them are merchants, nay, and weavers in the provinces of Multan, Lahore, and Sind; but they are despised in the tribe, and pass for base fellows, void of honour. The third, is the tribe of the Sudra or Kurmi, and these are the labourers of the ground; some of them carry arms, and since that is an honourable trade, and of a superior caste, it does not reflect upon them; but because they love not to serve on horseback, they serve commonly for the garrisons of places; and this caste or tribe is the greatest of all. The fourth, is the tribe of the Ouens or Bannians, and they are all merchants, bankers, or brokers, and the expertest people in the world for making money of anything.

Anciently there were no more tribes but these four, but in succession of time, all those who applied themselves to the same profession, composed a tribe or caste, and that is the reason they are so numerous. The Colis or cotton-dressers have made

a distinct caste. The Teherons or Travellers' Guards, have theirs: The palanquin-bearers have also made one, and they are called Covillis: bow-makers and fletchers have also made another; as also the hammer-men, such as goldsmiths, armorers, smiths and masons. They who work in wood, as carpenters, joiners and bill-men, are all of one caste. Public wenches, tumblers, vaulters, dancers and baladins, are of another. And it is the same with tailors, and other sheersmen, with coach-makers and sadlers. The Banjaras, who are carriers, painters and (in a word) all other tradesmen.

The least esteemed of all the eighty-four tribes, are the Pariahs and the Dar, or Halalkhor, because of their nastiness; and they who touch them, think themselves unclean. The Pariahs are employed in taking off, and carrying away the skins of beasts, and some of them are curriers. The Halalkhor are the gold-finders of the towns; they make clean the public and private houses of office, and are paid for it monthly, they feed on all sort of meats prohibited or not prohibited; they eat others' leavings without considering what religion or caste they are of. And that is the reason why those who only speak Persian in the Indies, call them *Halalkhor*, (that is to say) he that takes the liberty to eat what he pleases; or according to others, he that eats what he has honestly got. And they who approve this last application, say, that heretofore the Halalkhor were called *Haramkhor*, eaters of prohibited meats: (But that a king one day hearing his courtiers jeer them, because of their nasty trade, said to them, since these people gain their bread better than you, who are lazy lubbards, their name of *Haramkhor* ought to be given to you, and to them that of *Halalkhor*) And that they have retained that name.

There is a caste of gentiles, called *Bairagi*, who damn the yellow colour, and who in the morning put white on their forehead, contrary to the custom of the other castes, who have red put there by the Bramens. When a gentile is painted with this red, he bows his head three times, and lifts his joined hands thrice up to his forehead, and then presents the Bramen with rice and a cocos.

All the castes or tribes go to their devotions at the same time; but they adore what idol they please, without addressing them-

selves solely to him, to whom the temple is dedicated, unless their devotion invite them to do so, in so much that some carry their idols along with them, when they know that he whom they worship is not there. None of these gentiles marry out of their own tribe. A Bramen marries the daughter of another Bramen, a Rajput the daughter of a Rajput, a Halalkhor the daughter of a Halalkhor, a painter of a painter, and so of the rest.

The eighty-four tribes, observe among themselves an order of subordination. The Bannians yield to the Kurmis, the Kurmis to the Rajputs or Kshatriyas, and these (as all the rest do) to the Bramens, and so the Bramens are the chief and most dignified of the gentiles. And therefore it is, that a Bramen would think himself profaned, if he had eaten with a gentile of another caste than his own, though those of all other castes may eat in his house. And so it is with the other tribes in relation to their inferiors.

The Bramens, who are properly the Brahmanes or sages of the ancient Indians, and the Gymnosophists of Porphyrius, are the priests and doctors of the heathen in India. Besides theology (which they profess) they understand astrology, arithmetic and medicine, but they who are actually physicians, pay yearly a certain tribute to their caste, because physic ought not to be their profession. All these gentiles have a respect for the Bramens; and they believe them in all things, because they have been always told that God sent the four Vedas to them, which are the books of their religion, and that they are the keepers of them.

Several of these doctors apply themselves to philosophy, and love not to appear so extravagant as the rest in their belief. When a Christian speaks to them of their god Ram, whom the gentiles worship; they maintain not that he is god, and only say that he was a great king, whose sanctity and good offices that he did to men, have procured him a more particular communion with God, than other saints have, and that so they show him much more reverence. And if one speak to them of the adoration of idols, they answer, that they worship them not; that their intention is always fixed upon God; that they only honour them, because they put them in mind of the saint whom they

represent; that one must not heed the ignorance of the common people, who form to themselves a thousand idle fancies, their imaginations being always stuffed with errors and superstitions; and that when one would be informed of a religion, he ought to consult those that are knowing in it. That it is true, the ignorant believe that many great men (under whose shape God hath made himself known) are Gods, but that for their part, they believe no such thing; and that if God hath been pleased to act so, it was only to facilitate the salvation of men, and to condescend to the capacity and humour of every nation.

Upon this principle they believe that every man may be saved in his religion and sect, provided he exactly follow the way which God hath set before him, and that he will be damned if he take another course: They make no doubt but that their religion is the first of all religions; that it was established in the days of Adam, and preserved in Noah. They believe heaven and hell, but they affirm that none shall enter there before the universal judgment: They say also, that nobody ought to find fault with them for the honour they show to the cow; that they prefer her before other animals, only because she furnishes them more food, by means of her milk, than all the rest put together, and that she brings forth the ox which is so useful to the world, seeing he makes it subsist by his labour, and feeds men by his pains.

The Bramens believe the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls into new bodies, more or less noble, according to the merit of their actions which they have done in their life-time. And many of the other castes follow the opinion of Pythagoras; They believe that every soul must thus make many transmigrations, but they determine not the number; and therefore there are some who kill no beast, and never kindle fire, nor light candle, for fear some butterfly should burn itself thereat: It being possible (say they) that the soul of a butterfly may have lodged in the body of a man; and they have the same sentiment of other animals. In prospect of saving living creatures, they often solicit the Mogul governors, to forbid fishing on certain festival days; and sometimes that prohibition is procured by presents. They would willingly also hinder the killing of cows, but they can never obtain that. The Mahom-

etans will needs eat flesh, and that of the cow is the best of all the gross meats of the Indies.

After all, the vulgar opinion of the gentiles, touching the god Ram, is that he was produced, and came out of the light, in the same manner as the *fringe of a belt comes out of that belt*; and if they assign him a father whom they call Dasaratha, and a mother named Kaushalya, that is only for form sake, seeing he was not born. And in that consideration, the Indians render him divine honours in their pagodas, and elsewhere, And when they salute their friends, they repeat his name, saying, Ram, Ram Their adoration consists in joining their hands, as if they prayed, letting them fall very low, and then lifting them up again gently to their mouth, and last of all, in raising them over their head They call Sita the wife of Ram, and seeing they know what respect Christians bear to the Holy Virgin, they have the boldness to compare that wife to her, and if they meet with her image, they take it to be the representation of Sita.

In this opinion many gentiles go to Bassein, a town belonging to the Portuguese, where there is the image of a Virgin, who is called our Lady of Remedies, and where (they say) miracles are wrought When they come to the church-door, they salute it, bowing to the ground; and having taken off their shoes, and come in, they make many reverences, they put oil into the lamp that hangs before the image, burn wax-candles, and cast some money into the box, if they be able. At first they would have added to this oblation, fruits, and the anointing of their body, that so they might call it sacrifice, but the Portuguese hindered them It may easily be concluded, from the aversion they have to the killing of beasts, that their sacrifices are never bloody; they only consist in bringing into their pagodas many things fit to be eaten When they are come there, and have taken directions from the Bramen, they anoint their body with oil, and say their prayers, before the idol they intend to invoke; and having presented their oblation to it, they return out of the pagoda again The chief Bramen takes of it what he pleases, and then all that have a mind to eat of it, may, of what religion soever they be They perform also sacrifices to the sea.



demands: The Bannian promises fair, and brings it him, but because the fantastical faquir understands that several have contributed to that charity, he openly refuses it, and goes about to execute what he hath threatened, if the Bannian alone furnish not the sum; and the Bannian knowing that some faquirs have been so desperate as to kill themselves upon the like occasion, is so much a fool as to give out of his own purse, and to give the others back again what they had contributed

These faquirs (who give themselves out to be of a religious order) have commonly no place to retreat unto, unless it be some pagodas; and they cannot be better compared (if you will set aside the penances they do) than to gypsies, for their way of living is like theirs, and I believe their profession has the same original, which is libertinisme. However, they attribute it to a prince named Ravan, who had a quarrel with Ram; and who being overcome and stript of all, by an ape called Hanuman, spent the rest of his life in rambling over the world, having no other subsistence for himself and his followers but what was given him in charity

They are many times to be seen in troops at Allahabad, where they assemble for celebrating of some feasts (for which they are obliged to wash themselves in the Ganges) and to perform certain ceremonies. Such of them as do not hurt, and show signs of piety are extremely honoured by the gentiles, and the rich think they draw down blessings upon themselves, when they assist those whom they call penitents. Their penance consists in forbearing to eat for many days, to keep constantly standing upon a stone for several weeks, or several months, to hold their arms across behind their head, as long as they live, or to bury themselves in pits for a certain space of time. But if some of these faquirs be good men, there are also very rogues amongst them; and the Mogul princes are not troubled, when such of them as commit violences are killed.

One may meet with some of them in the country stark naked with colours and trumpets, who ask charity with bow and arrow in hand, and when they are the strongest, they leave it not to the discretion of travellers to give or refuse. These wretches have no consideration even for those that feed them; I have seen some of them in the caravans, who made it their

whole business to play tricks, and to molest travellers, though they had all their subsistence from them. Not long since I was in a caravan, where some of these faquirs were, who took a fancy to suffer nobody to sleep. All night long they did nothing but sing and preach, and instead of banging them soundly to make them hold their peace (as they ought to have been served) the company prayed them civilly, but they took it ill; so that they doubled their cries and singing, and they who could not sing, laughed and made a mock of the rest of the caravan.

These faquirs were sent by their superiors, into I know not what country full of Bannians, to demand of them two thousand rupees, with a certain quantity of rice and mans of butter; and they had orders not to return without fulfilling their commission. This is their way all over the Indies, where by their mummeries, they have accustomed the gentiles to give them what they demand, without daring to refuse. There are a great many faquirs among the Mahometans, as well as amongst the idolaters, who are also vagabonds, and worse than they, and commonly both of them are treated alike.

The province of Allahabad pays the Moguls yearly about fourteen millions.

#### 40. OF THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA OR BENGAL AND OF THE GANGES

THE province of Orissa, which we call Bengal, and which the idolaters name Jagannath, because of the famous idol of the pagoda of Jagannath which is there, is inhabited by gentiles no less fantastical in point of religion, than those of Allahabad; and this one instance may serve for a proof of it. A faquir intending to invent some new spell of devotion that was never seen before, and which might cost him a great deal of pains, resolved to measure with his body the whole extent of the Mogul's empire, from Bengal as far as Kabul, which are the limits of it from south-east to north-west. The pretext he had for so doing, was,

that once in his life he might be present at the feast of Holi, which I have already described, and he had a kind of novices to wait upon him and serve him.

The first action he did when he set out upon his journey, was to lay himself at full length on the ground upon his belly, and to order that the length of his body might be marked there; that being done, he rose up, and acquainted his followers with his design, which was to take a journey as far as Kabul, by lying down and rising up again continually, and to walk no more at a time but the length of his body; ordering his novices to make a mark on the ground at the crown of his head, every time he lay down, to the end he might exactly regulate the march he was to make; all was punctually performed on both sides. The faquir made a cosse and a half a day, that is to say, about three quarters of a league; and they who related the story, met him a year after his setting out, no farther off than at the utmost bounds of the province of Allahabad. In the meantime, he had all imaginable respect showed him in the places he

of that river. Most of the houses are only built of canes, covered with earth: The English and Dutch houses are more solid, because they have spared no cost for the security of their goods. The Augustines have a monastery there also. The tide comes up as far as Dacca, so that the galleys which are built there, may easily trade in the gulf of Bengal; and the Dutch make good use of theirs for their commerce.

The country is full of castles and towns, Philipatan, Satgaon, Patna, Cassimbazar and Chittagong, are very rich, and Patna is a very large town, lying on the west side of the Ganges in the country of Patan, where the Dutch have a factory. Corn, rice, sugar, ginger, long pepper, cotton and silk, with several other commodities, are plentifully produced in that country, as well as fruits; and especially the ananas, which in the outside is much like a pine-apple; they are as big as melons, and some of them resemble them also, their colour at first is betwixt a green and a yellow, but when they are ripe, the green is gone, they grow upon a stalk not above a foot and a half high, they are pleasant to the taste, and leaves the flavour of an apricock in the mouth.

The Ganges is full of pleasant islands, covered with lovely Indian trees, and for five days sailing on that river, passengers are delighted with the beauty of them. In these isles, and some other places of Bengal, there is a kind of bird called maina, which is much esteemed; it is of the colour of a black bird, and almost as big as a raven, having just such another beak, but that it is yellow and red; on each side of the neck, it hath a yellow streak which covers the whole cheek till below the eye, and its feet are yellow; they teach it to speak like a starling, and it hath the tone and voice much like; but besides its ordinary voice it hath a strong deep tone which seems to come from a distance; it imitates the neighing of a horse exactly, and feeds on dried peas which it breaks. I have seen some of them upon the road from Masulipatan to Bhagnagar.

The heathen Indians esteem the water of the Ganges to be sacred; they have pagodas near it, which are the fairest of all the Indies; and it is in that country especially where idolatry is triumphant: The two chief pagodas are that of Jagannath, (which is at one of the mouths of the Ganges) and the other of the town

of Benaras, which is also upon the Ganges Nothing can be more magnificent than these pagodas, by reason of the quantity of gold and many jewels, wherewith they are adorned. Festivals are kept there for many days together, and millions of people repair thither from the other countries of the Indies, they carry their idols in triumph, and act all sorts of superstitions, they are entertained by the Bramens, who are numerous there, and who therein find their profit.

The Great Mogul drinks commonly of the water of the Ganges, because it is much lighter than other waters, and yet I have met with those who affirm that it causes fluxes, and that the Europeans (who are forced to drink it) boil it first. This river having received an infinite number of brooks and rivers from the north, east and west, discharges itself by several mouths into the Gulf of Bangal, at the height of three and twenty degrees, or thereabouts, and that gulf reaches from the eighth degree of latitude to the two and twentieth, it being eight hundred leagues over. On the sides thereof to the east and west, there are many towns belonging to several sovereigns, who permit the traffic of other nations, because of the profit they get thereby.

My Indian reckons the yearly revenue of the Mogul in this province, to amount to ten millions, but I learnt from other hands, that it hardly makes nine, though it be far richer than other provinces that yield him more. The reason given for that, is, that it lies in the extremity of his empire, and is inhabited by a capricious sort of people, who must be gently used, because of the neighbourhood of kings that are enemies, who might debauch them if they were vexed. The Mogul sends the traitors thither, whom he hath condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the castle where they are kept, is strictly guarded

## 41. OF THE PROVINCE OF MALWA

MALWA is to the west of Bengal and Allahabad, therein are comprehended the countries of Raja-Ranas, Gwalior and

Chitor. The town of Mandu is one of the fairest ornaments of the province: The Mahometans took it from the Indians, above four hundred years before the Moguls came there, and when they attacked it, it was in the possession of Salim Shah, king of Delhi. The first of the Moguls that took it, was King Humayun, who lost it again; but he afterwards made himself master of it. This town is of a moderate bigness, and hath several gates, which are esteemed for their structure and height. Most of the houses are of stone; and it hath lovely mosques, whereof the chief is much beautified; a palace that is not far from that mosque, (and which depends upon it) serves as a mausoleum to four kings, who are interred in it, and have each of them a monument; and close by, there is a building in form of a tower, with porticos and several pillars.

Though this town lying at the foot of a hill, be naturally strong by its situation, it is nevertheless fortified with walls and towers, and has a castle on the top of the hill, which is steep, and encompassed with walls six or seven leagues in circuit. It is a very neat town at present, but nothing to what it hath been heretofore: It appears by the ruins all about, that it hath been much greater than it is, that it hath had two fair temples, and many stately palaces; and the sixteen large tanks or reservatories, which are to be seen still for keeping of water, show (that in former times) it hath been a place of great consequence.

This province is very fertile, and produces all that grows in the other places of the Indies. Rantipore is the capital of the province, and at present the town of greatest traffic; it stands also upon a mountain, and thither the Grand Signior sends the traitors whom he hath condemned to die: For a certain time they are kept prisoners, and always one or other in the room with them; and the day they are to die, they make them drink a great quantity of milk, and throw them down from the top of the castle upon the declining side of the hill, which is full of sharp pointed craggy stones, that tear the bodies of the wretches, before they can reach the bottom of the precipice.

The town of Chitor is very famous also, but it is almost ruined; it long belonged to raja-ranas, who deduced his genealogy from King Porus; though that raja had considerable

territories, and strong, by reason of the mountains that almost encompassed them, yet could he not avoid the misfortune of other princes, but fell (as they did) under the power of the Moguls, in the reign of King Akbar. At present, there are but few inhabitants in Chitor, the walls of it are low, and of a great many stately public buildings, nothing remains but the ruins. The hundred temples or pagodas are still to be distinguished, and many antic statues to be seen, it hath a fort, where lords of chief quality are imprisoned for small faults. In short, the remains of many ancient fabrics (that are to be seen there) make it apparent, that it hath been a very great town. The seat of it is very pleasant, and the top of the hill (on which it stands) extremely fertile, it hath still four reservatories or tanks for the private use of the inhabitants. There are a great many other trading towns in that province, and the Great Mogul receives yearly out of it above fourteen millions.

There are two kinds of bats in that country, the one is like to that we have in Europe, but seeing the other differs much, I pleased myself in examining it in a friend's house, who kept one out of curiosity, it is eight inches long, and covered with yellowish hair, the body of it is round, and as big as a duck's; its head and eyes resemble a cat's, and it has a sharp snout like to a great rat; it hath pricked black ears and no hair upon them, it hath no tail, but under its wings, two teats as big as the end of one's little finger; it hath four legs, some call them arms, and all the four seem to be glued fast within the wings, which are joined to the body along the sides, from the shoulder downwards, the wings are almost two foot long, and seven or eight inches broad, and are of a black skin like to wet parchment, each arm is as big as a cat's thigh, and towards the joint, it is almost as big as a man's arm, and the two foremost from the shoulder to the fingers, are nine or ten inches long; each of the two arms is fleshed into the wing, perpendicularly to the body, being covered with hair, and terminating in five fingers, which make a kind of hand, these fingers are black and without hair, they have the same joints as a man's fingers have, and these creatures make use of them to stretch out their wings when they have a mind to fly: Each hind leg or arm, is but half a foot long, and is also fastened to the wing parallel to the body; it reaches to the lower

part of the wing, out of which the little hand of that arm peeping, seems pretty like the hand of a man; but that instead of nails, it hath five claws; the hind arms are black and hairy (as those before are) and are a little smaller. These bats stick to the branches of trees, with their talons or claws; they fly high, almost out of sight, and some (who eat them) say they are good meat.

## 42. OF THE PROVINCE OF KHANDESH

THE province of Khandesh is to the south of Malwa, and they who have reduced the provinces, have joined to it Berar, and what the Mogul possesses of Orissa. These countries are of a vast extent, full of populous towns and villages, and in all Mogulistan, few countries are so rich as this. The memoir I have of yearly revenues, makes this province yield the Mogul above seven and twenty millions a year. The capital city of this province is Burhanput; it lies in the twenty-eighth degree of latitude, about fourscore leagues distant from Surat. The governor thereof is commonly a prince of the blood, and Aurangzeb hath been governor of it himself

Here it was that the Sieurs de La Boullaye and Babar envoy's from the French East-India Company, quarrelled with the Bannians, to whom they were recommended. When they arrived at Burhanpur, these Bannians met them with basons full of sweetmeats, and rupees in their hands. The gentlemen not knowing the custom of the country, which is to offer presents to strangers whom they esteem; and imagining that the five and twenty or thirty rupees that were offered them, was a sign that they thought them poor, fell into a passion, railed at the Bannians, and were about to have beat them, which was like to have bred the trouble enough: if they had been well informed of the custom of the country, they would have taken the money, and then returned some small present to the



Bannians, and if they had not thought it fit to make a present, they might have given it back again after they had received it, or if they would not take it, touch it at least with their finger's ends, and thanked them for their civility

I came to Burhanpur in the worst weather imaginable, and it had rained so excessively, that the low streets of that town were full of water, and seemed to be so many rivers Burhanpur is a great town standing upon very uneven ground, there are some streets very high, and others again so low, that they look like ditches when one is in the higher streets, these inequalities of streets occur so often, that they cause extraordinary fatigue The houses are not at all handsome, because most of them are only built of earth, however, they are covered with varnished tiles, and the various colours of the roofs, mingling with the verdure of a great many trees of different kinds, planted on all hands, makes the prospect of it pleasant enough There are two caravanserais in it, one appointed for lodging strangers, and the other for keeping the king's money, which the treasurers receive from the province, that for the strangers is far more spacious than the other, it is square, and both of them front towards the maidan That is a very large place, for it is at least five hundred paces long, and three hundred and fifty broad, but it is not pleasant, because it is full of ugly huts, where the fruiterers sell their fruit and herbs

The entry into the castle is from the maidan, and the chief gate is betwixt two large towers, the walls of it are six or seven fathom high, they have battlements all round, and at certain intervals there are large round towers which jet a great way out, and are about thirty paces diameter This castle contains the king's palace, and there is no entering into it without permission, the Tapti running by the east side of that town, there is one whole front of the castle upon the riverside, and in that part of it the walls are full eight fathom high, because there are pretty neat galleries on the top, where the king (when he is at Burhanpur) comes to look about him, and to see the fighting of elephants, which is commonly in the middle of the river, in the same place, there is a figure of an elephant done to the natural bigness, it is of a reddish shining stone, the back parts of it are in the water, and it leans to the left side,

There are vast numbers of antelopes, hares and partridges, here and there in that country; and towards the mountains merous, or wild cows, most part of the land is arable ground; and the rice (wherewith the fields are covered) is the best in all the Indies, especially towards Navapur, where it has an odoriferous taste, which that of other countries has not. Cotton abounds there also, and in many places they have sugarcanes, with mills to bruise the canes, and furnaces to boil the sugar

Bardoli, a bourg five leagues from Surat Valod, a village, 4 leag. from Bardoli Vyara, village, 3 leag. and a half from Valod. Sarkana a village, 2 leag. and a half from Vyara. Navapur a town, 6 leag from Sarkana. Khanapur a village, 6 leag. from Navapur. Pimpelner a town, 6 leag. from Khanapur. Taharabad a village, 4 leag from Pimpelner. Satana a bourg, 4 leag and a half from Taharabad. Umbrane a village, 5 leag. and a half from Satana. Ankai Tankai, 6 leag. from Umbrane. Devthan a town, 6 leag. from Ankai Tankai. The Lasur, a town, 6 leag from Devthan. Aurangabad, 8 leag from the Lasur.

Now and then one meets with hills that are hard to be crossed over, but there are lovely plains also watered with many rivers and brooks. In this road there are four towns, and four or five and thirty bourgs and villages, pretty well peopled. Chaukis, or guards of the highways, are often to be met with here, who ask money of travellers, though it be not their due; we gave to some and refused others, but that signifies no great matter in the whole.

In most places inhabited, there are pagodas, and every now and then, we met with wagons full of gentiles, who were coming to perform their devotions in them. The first pagoda (I saw) was by the side of a great war, and before the door of it, there was an ox of stone, which a gentile (who spoke Persian) told me was the figure of the ox, which served to carry their god Ram. We found besides, many other pagodas like to that, but we saw others, which consisted of one single stone about six foot high, on which the figure of a man is cut in relief. There are also a great many reservatories and caravan-serai upon the road, but we chose rather to encamp, than lodge in them, because of their nastiness

As we were encamped near the bourg Satana under manguiers, not far distant from a small river, which is also

called Satana, almost midway betwixt Surat and Aurangabad, we met the Bishop of Heliopolis, so much esteemed in the Indies for his piety and zeal; he had in company with him Monsieur Champson, and a Spanish Cordelier, who had left the Bishop of Barut, with several other church-men, who laboured in converting the gentiles at Siam. That Bishop was going to Surat, in order to return to France, from whence he hoped to bring back new missionaries with him; and the Cordelier came from China, where he had lived fourteen years, we continually met caravans of oxen and camels upon our road, and some I saw that came from Agra, consisting of more than a thousand oxen loaded with cotton-cloth. At length, the eleventh of March we arrived at Aurangabad, threescore and fifteen leagues from Surat, which we travelled in a fortnight.

This great town (the capital of the province) has no walls; the governor (who is commonly a prince) has his residence there, and King Aurangzeb commanded there, as long as he did at Khandesh in the reign of his father. His first wife (whom he loved dearly) died in this town; as a monument to her, he erected a lovely mosque, covered with a dome, and beautified with four minarets or steeples. It is built of a white polished stone, and many take it for marble, though it come short of that, both in hardness and lustre. There are several other pretty fair mosques in this town, and it is not destitute of public places, caravanaserais, and baths: The buildings are for the most part of free-stone, and petty high, before the doors there are a great many trees growing in the streets, and the gardens are pleasant, and well cultivated, affording the refreshment of fruit, grapes, and grass-plats. They have sheep there without horns, that are so strong, as that being bridled and saddled, they will carry children of ten years of age up and down, wheresoever they please. This is a trading town, and well peopled, with excellent ground about it: Though it was but in the beginning of March, we found all the corn cut down. I saw some apes much esteemed there, which a man had brought from Ceylon: They valued them because they were no bigger than one's fist, and differed in kind from the common monkeys; they have a flat forehead, big round eyes, which are yellow

and clear like the eyes of some cats; their snout is very sharp, and the inside of their ears yellow; they have no tail, and their hair is like to that of other apes. When I looked upon them, they stood upon their hind feet, and embraced one another often, eying the people steadfastly without being scared, their master called them wild men.

#### 44. OF THE PAGODAS OF ELORA

AT Surat I was told great matters of the pagodas of Elora; and therefore I had a mind to see them, so that so soon as I came to Aurangabad, I sought out for an interpreter to go along with me; but it being impossible for me to find one, I resolved to take my servants with me, and make that little journey alone. And because my oxen were weary, I hired a little wagon to carry me thither, and took two peons more besides those I had. I gave all the four, half a crown piece, and leaving my men to look after my baggage, I parted about nine of the clock at night. They told me that there was some danger of meeting robbers, but being well armed, (as my men also were,) I was not much concerned; and I chose rather to run some little risk, than to miss an opportunity of seeing those pagodas, which are so renowned all over the Indies: We marched softly because of the unevenness of the country, and about two of the clock in the morning, came near to Daulatabad, where we rested till five.

We had a rugged mountain to ascend, and very hard for the oxen to climb up, though the way cut out of the rock, be almost everywhere as smooth, as if it were paved with free-stone: It had on the side a wall three foot thick, and four foot high, to hinder the wagons and chariots from falling down into the plain, if they chanced to be overthrown. My peons thrust forward the wagon with all their force, and contributed as much as the oxen to get it up to the top of the hill. When I arrived there, I discovered a spacious plain of well cultivated

land, with a great many villages, and bourgs amidst gardens, plenty of fruit-trees and woods. We travelled at least for the space of an hour over ploughed land, where I saw very fair tombs several stories high, and covered with domes built of large grayish stones, and about half an hour after seven, having passed by a great tank, I alighted near a large court paved with the same stones. I went in, but was obliged to put off my shoes; at first I found a little mosque, where I saw the Bismillah of the Mahometans writ over the door; the signification of that inscription is, *In the Name of God*. There was no light into the mosque, but what entered by that door; but there were many lamps burning in it, and several old men that were there, invited me to come in, which I did. I saw nothing rare in it, but two tombs covered with carpet: And I was extremely troubled for want of an interpreter, for else I had known a great many particulars, that I could not be informed of.

A little farther westward, my peons and I were above half an hour clambering down a rock, into another very low plain. The first thing I saw were very high chapels, and I entered into a porch cut out of the rock, which is of a dark grayish stone, and on each side of that porch, there is a gigantic figure of a man cut out of the natural rock, and the walls are covered all over with other figures in relief, cut in the same manner. Having passed that porch, I found a square court, an hundred paces every way: The walls are the natural rock, which in that place is six fathom high, perpendicular to the ground-plat, and cut as smooth and even, as if it were plaster smoothed with a trowel. Before all things, I resolved to view the outside of that court, and I perceived that these walls, or rather the rock hangs, and that it is hollowed underneath, so that the void space makes a gallery almost two fathom high, and four or five broad. It hath the rock for ground, and is supported only by a row of pillars cut in the rock, and distant from the floor of the gallery, about the length of a fathom, so that it appears as if there were two galleries. Everything there, is extremely well cut, and it is really, a wonder to see so great a mass in the air, which seems so slenderly underpropped, that one can hardly forbear to shiver at first entering into it.

In the middle of the court there is a chapel, whose walls inside and outside are covered with figures in relief. They

represent several sorts of beasts, as griffons, and others cut in the rock: On each side of the chapel there is a pyramid or obelisk, larger at the basis than those of Rome, but they are not sharp pointed, and are cut out of the very rock, having some characters upon them, which I know not. The obelisk on the left hand, has by it an elephant as big as the life, cut out in the rock, as all the rest is; but his trunk has been broken. At the farther end of the court, I found two staircases cut in the rock, and I went up with a little Bramen, who appeared to have a great deal of wit. Being at the top, I perceived a kind of platform, (if the space of a league and a half, or two leagues, may be called a platform) full of stately tombs, chapels and temples, which they call pagodas, cut in the rock. The little Bramen led me to all the pagodas, which the small time I had allowed me to see. With a cane he showed me all the figures of these pagodas, told me their names, and by some Indian words which I understood, I perceived very well, that he gave me a short account of the histories of them; but seeing he understood not the Persian tongue, nor I the Indian I could make nothing at all of it.

I entered into a great temple built in the rock, it has a flat roof, and adorned with figures in the inside, as the walls of it are: In that temple there are eight rows of pillars in length, and six in breadth, which are about a fathom distant from one another.

The temple is divided into three parts: the body of it, (which takes up two-thirds and a half of the length,) is the first part, and is of an equal breadth all over; the quire, which is narrower, makes the second part, And the third, which is the end of the temple, is the least, and looks only like a chapel; in the middle whereof, upon a very high basis, there is a gigantic idol, with a head as big as a drum, and the rest proportionable. All the walls of the chapel are covered with gigantic figures in relief, and on the outside all round the temple, there are a great many little chapels adorned with figures of an ordinary bigness in relief, representing men and women, embracing one another.

Leaving this place, I went into several other temples of different structure, built also in the rock, and full of figures,

pilasters, and pillars I saw three temples, one over another, which have but one front all three, but it is divided into three stories, supported with as many rows of pillars, and in every storey, there is a great door for the temple, the stair cases are cut out of the rock I saw but one temple that was arched, and therein I found a room, whereof the chief ornament is a square well, cut in the rock, and full of spring-water, that rises within two or three foot of the brim of the well There are vast numbers of pagodas all along the rock, and there is nothing else to be seen for above two leagues They are all dedicated to some heathen saints, and the statue of the false saint, (to which every one of them is dedicated,) stands upon a basis at the farther end of the pagoda

In these pagodas I saw several saints or yogis without clothes, except on the parts of the body which ought to be hid They were all covered with ashes, and I was told that they let their hair grow as long as it could If I could have stayed longer in those quarters, I should have seen the rest of the pagodas, and used so much diligence, as to have found out somebody, that might have exactly informed me of everything, but it behoved me to rest satisfied as to that, with the information I had from the gentiles of Aurangabad, who upon my return told me that the constant tradition was, that all these pagodas, great and small, with their works and ornaments, were made by giants, but that in what time it was not known

However it be, if one consider that number of spacious temples, full of pillars and pilasters, and so many thousands of figures, all cut out of a natural rock, it may be truly said, that they are works surpassing human force, and that at least, (in the age wherein they have been made) the men have not been altogether barbarous, though the architecture and sculpture be not so delicate as with us I spent only two hours in seeing what now I have described, and it may easily be judged, that I needed several days to have examined all the rarities of that place, but seeing I wanted time, and that it behoved me to make haste, if I intended to find my company still at Aurangabad, I broke off my curiosity, and I must confess it was with regret I therefore got up into my wagon again, which I found at a village called Rauza, from whence I went to

Sultanpur, a little town, the mosques and houses whereof are built of a blackish free-stone, and the streets paved with the same. Not far from thence I found that so difficult descent, which I mentioned; and at length, after three hours' march from the time we left Elora, we rested an hour under trees, near the walls of Daulatabad, which I considered as much as I could

#### 45. OF THE PROVINCE OF DAULATABAD AND OF THE FEATS OF AGILITY OF BODY

THIS town was the capital of Balaghat, before it was conquered by the Moguls: It belonged then to Deccan, and was a place of great trade; but at present the trade is at Aurangabad, whither King Aurangzeb used his utmost endeavours to transport it, when he was governor thereof. The town is indifferently big, it reaches from east to west, and is much longer than broad; it is walled round with free-stone, and has battlements and towers mounted with cannon. But though the walls and towers be good, yet that is not the thing that makes it accounted the strongest place belonging to the Mogul: It is an hill of an oval figure, which the town encompasses on all sides, strongly fortified, and having a wall of a natural smooth rock, that environs it at the bottom, with a good citadel on the top, whereon the king's palace stands. This is all I could see from the place, where I was without the town: But I learnt afterwards from a Frenchman who had lived two years therein; that besides the citadel, there are three other forts in the place, at the foot of the hill, of which one is called Barcot, the other Marcot, and the third Calacot. The word cot in Indian, signifies a fort; and by reason of all these fortifications, the Indians think that place impregnable. I spent two hours and a half in coming from Daulatabad to Aurangabad, which are but two leagues and a half distant. This was the third time that I crossed this last town, and about an hour after, I came to the place where my company encamped: They waited only for a billet from the customer, to be



did all that the rope-dancers of Europe do, and much more: These people are as supple as an eel, they will turn their whole body into a bowl, and then others roll them with the hand. The finest tricks were performed by a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who played for the space of two hours and more. Thus amongst other feats of agility which she did, appeared to me extremely difficult: She sat down upon the ground, holding crossways in her mouth a long cutting sword; with the right hand she took hold of her left foot, brought it up to her breast, then to her left side, and without letting go that foot, she put her head underneath her right arm, and at the same time, brought her foot down along the small of her back: Then she made it pass under her sitting, and over the right leg four or five times without resting, being always in danger of cutting her arm or leg with the edge of the sword: And she did the same thing with the left hand and right foot.

Whilst she was showing of that trick, they dug a hole in the ground two foot deep, which they filled with water. So soon as the girl had rested a little, they threw into the hole a little hook made like a clasp, for her to fetch out with her nose, without touching it with her hands: She put her two feet on the sides of the pit, and turned herself backwards, upon her two hands, which she placed on the sides of the hole where her feet had stood. Then she dived headlong into the water, to search after the hook with her nose: The first time she missed it, but the pit being filled full of water again, she plunged backwards into it a second time, and upholding herself only with the left hand, she gave a sign with the right hand, that she had found what she sought for, and she raised herself again with the clasp at her nose.

Then a man took this girl, and setting her upon his head, ran at full speed through the place, she in the meantime not tottering in the least: Setting her down, he took a large earthen pot, like to those round pitchers that the Indian maids make use to draw water in, and put it upon his head with the mouth upwards. The girl got on the top of it, and he carried her about the place with the same security, as he had done without the pot, Which he did twice more, having put the pot with the mouth downwards once, and then with the mouth sideways.

The same trick he showed in a bason wherein he turned the pot three different ways. Then he took the bason and turned its bottom up upon his head, with the pitcher over it. The girl showed the same tricks upon it. And at length, having put into the bason upon his head, a little wooden truncheon a foot high, and as big as one's arm, he caused the girl to be set upright upon that stake, and carried her about as before, sometimes she only stood upon one foot, taking the other in her hand; and sometimes she hurtled down upon her heels, nay, and sat down, though the carrier in the meantime, went on as formerly. Then the man took the bason from under the stake, and put it on the top of it, where the girl likewise appeared. Then changing the play, he put into the bason four pins, or little stakes of wood, four inches high, set squareways with a board upon each of them, two fingers breadth, and upon these boards four other pins or little stakes, with as many boards more, making in all, two stories over the bason, supported with the great stake or pillar. And that girl getting upon the upper storey, he ran with her through the place with the same swiftness as at other times, she not appearing in the least, afraid of falling, though the wind was high. These people showed a hundred other tricks of agility, which I shall not describe, that I may not be tedious, only I must say, that the finest I saw acted, were performed by girls. We gave them at parting three rupees, for which they gave us a thousand blessings. We sent for them at night to our camp, where they diverted us again, and gained two rupees more.

From thence we went to the towns of Ila and Dentapur, and some days after we arrived at Indur, which belongs to a raja, who owns the Mogul no more than he thinks fit. He is maintained by the king of Golconda, and in time of war, he sides always with the strongest. He would have had us pay two rupees a wagon, but after much dispute, we paid but one, and passed on. We came before a village called Bisetpoury; and being informed, that near to that place, on the top of a hill, there was a very fair pagoda, we alighted and went on foot to see it.

## 46. OF SITANAGAR

THAT pagoda is called Sitanagar: It is an oblong square temple, forty-five paces in length, twenty-eight in breadth, and three fathom high; it is built of a stone of the same kind as the Theban. It hath a basis five foot high all round, charged with bends and wreaths, and adorned with roses and notchings, as finely cut, as if they had been done in Europe. It hath a lovely frontispiece, with its architrave, cornish and fronton; and is beautified with pillars, and lovely arches, with the figures of beasts in relief, and some with figures of men. Then we viewed the inside; the contrivance of that temple is like that of Ellora, it hath a body, a quire, and a chapel at the end. I could perceive nothing in the body and quire, but the four walls, though the lustre of the stones they are built of, renders the prospect very agreeable: The floor is of the same stone, and in the middle of it there is a great rose well cut. This place like the other pagodas, receives light only by the door: On each side of the wall of the quire, there is square hole a foot large, which slopes like a port-hole for a piece of ord'nance, and in the middle of the thickness of it, a long iron screw, as big as one's leg, which enters perpendicularly into the wall like a bar, and I was informed, that these irons served to fasten ropes to, for supporting of those who performed voluntary abstinence for seven days or longer. In the middle of the chapel at the end, there is an altar of the same stone as the walls are of, it is cut into several stories, and adorned all over with indentings, roses, and other embellishments of architecture, and on each side below, there are three elephants' heads. There hath been a pedestal prepared of the same stone the altar is of, to set the idol of the pagoda upon, but seeing the building was not finished, the idol hath not been set up.

When I came down, I perceived at the foot of the hill, on the east side, a building, which I was not told of; I went thither alone with my peons, but found nothing but the beginning of a wŭtace, the walls whereof were of the same stone as the pavŭnich. The threshold of each door is of one piece of stone, a fŭth downwa half long: It is all built of very great stones,

and I measured one of them, that was above four fathom long Near to that building, there is a reservatory as broad as the Seine at Paris; but so long, that from the highest place I went to, I could not discover the length of it In that reservatory, there is another little tank, seven or eight fathom square, and walled in. This water bring below the house, there is a large pair of stairs to go down to it, and about an hundred and fifty paces forward, in the great reservatory opposite to the house, there is a square divan or quiochque, about eight or ten fathom wide, the pavement whereof is raised about a foot above the water That divan is built and covered with the same stone, that the house is built of. It stands upon sixteen pillars, a fathom and a half high, that is to say, each front on four.

Seeing my company kept on their march, I spent but half an hour in viewing that building, which very well deserves many, as well for examining the design of it, the nature of the stones, their cut, polishing and bigness, as for considering the architecture, which is of a very good contrivance, and though it cannot absolutely be said to be of any of our orders, yet it comes very near the dorick. The temple and palace are called Sitanagar, that is to say, the Lady Sita, because the pagoda is dedicated to Sita the wife of Ram: I learnt that both had been begun by a rich Rajput, who dying, left the temple and house imperfect. After all, I observed, as well in the ancient, as modern buildings of the Indies, that the architects make the basis, body, and capital of their pillars, of one single piece.

Chikalthan leag and a half from Aurangabad Ambad a town, Rohillagadh 6 leag from Chikalthan Dhasalkher 5 leag. from Rohillagadh. Ashti a town, 8 leag. from Dhasalkher Manwat 6 leag. from Ashti Parbhani a town, 5 leag. from Manwat. Purnanadi a river Lasina a town, 6 leag. from Parbhani. Nander a town, 5 leag. from Lasina. Guenga Ganges a river, Patoda a town, 5 leag. from Nander, Kondalwadi 9 leag. from Patoda Manjra a river. Lisa a town. Dentapur a town. Indur a town, 4 leag from Kondalwadi. Phulang a river. Indalwai a town, 4 leag. from Indur. Kalvaral 4 leag. from Indalwai.

We past next by the town of Indalwai, of which nothing is to be said in particular, but that a great many swords, daggers,

and lances are made there, which are vended all over the Indies, and that the iron is taken out of a mine near the town, in the mountain of Kalaghat. The town (at that time,) was almost void of inhabitants, for they were gone farther up into the country, because of the brother of Sivaji, who made inroads to the very town. We encamped beyond Indalwai, and next day being the six and twentieth of March, (having after four hours march passed over the pleasantest hills in the world, by reason of the different kinds of trees that cover them,) we arrived at Kalvaral which is the last village of the Mogul's country. It is distant from Aurangabad, about fourscore and three leagues, which we travelled in a fortnight's time.

The rest of the road to Golconda I shall describe, when I treat of that kingdom. The way from Aurangabad, that I have been now speaking of, is diversified by hills and plains: All the plains are good ground, some sowed with rice, and the rest planted with cotton-trees. Tamarins, wars, cadjours, manguiers, quesous, and others; and all watered with several rivers, which turn and wind every way, and with tanks also, out of which they draw the water by oxen: And I saw one of these reservatories at Dentapur, which is a musket-shot over, and seven or eight hundred geometrical paces long. We were incommoded during our whole journey almost with lightnings, whirlwinds, rains, and hailstones, some as big as a pullet's egg; and when we were troubled with none of these, we heard dull thunderings, that lasted whole days and nights. We met everywhere troops of horse designed against Bijapur, the king whereof, refused to send the Great Mogul, the tribute which he used to pay to him.

To conclude with this province, it is to be observed, that all the rocks and mountains I have mentioned, are only dependances of that mountain which is called Balaghat, which according to the Indian geographers, divides India into the two parts of north and south, as that of Guate, according to the same geographers, environs it almost on all hands.

## 47. OF THE PROVINCE OF TELENGANA

TELENGANA was heretofore the principal province of Deccan, and reached as far as the Portuguese lands towards Goa, Bijapur being the capital city thereof. But since the Mogul became master of the northern places of this country, and of the towns of Bidar and Kalyani, it hath been divided betwixt him and the king of Deccan, who is only called king of Bijapur, and it is reckoned amongst the provinces of Indostan, which obey the Great Mogul. It is bordered on the east by the kingdom of Golconda on Maslipatan side, on the west by the province of Baglana and Bijapur, on the north by Balaghat, and on the south by Vijayanagar. The capital city of this province is at present Bidar, which belonged to Balaghat when it had kings and it hath sometime belonged to Deccan.

Bidar is a great town; it is encompassed with brick-walls which have battlements, and at certain distances towers, they are mounted with great cannon, some whereof have the mouth three foot wide. There is commonly in this place a garrison of three thousand men, half horse and half foot, with seven hundred gunners, the garrison is kept in good order, because of the importance of the place against Deccan, and that they are always afraid of a surprise. The governor lodges in a castle without the town, it is a rich government, and he who commanded it when I was there, was brother-in law to King Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb's father, but having since desired the government of Burhanpur, (which is worth more) he had it, because in the last war, that governor had made an army of the King of Vijapurs, raise the siege from before Bidar.

Some time after, I met the new governor upon the road to Bidar, who was a Persian of a good aspect, and pretty well stricken in years; he was carried in a palanquin amidst five hundred horse-men well mounted and clothed, before whom marched several men on foot, carrying blew banners charged with flames of gold, and after them came seven elephants. The governor's palanquin was followed with several others full of women, and covered with red searge, and there were two little children in one that was open. The bamboos of all these palanquin, were covered with plates of silver chamfered, after them came many chariots full of women, two of which were drawn by white oxen, almost

six foot high; and last of all, came the wagons with the baggage, and several camels guarded by troopers. This province of Telengana is worth above ten millions a year to the Great Mogul.

Nowhere are the gentiles more superstitious than here, they have a great many pagodas with figures of monsters, that can excite nothing but horror instead of devotion, unless in those who are deluded with the religion. These idolaters use frequent washings, men, women and children go to the river as soon as they are out of bed; and the rich have water brought them to wash in. When women lose their husbands, they are conducted thither by their friends, who comfort them, and they who are brought to bed, use the same custom, almost as soon as they are delivered of their children, and indeed, there is no country where women are so easily brought to bed; when they come out of the water, a Bramen dawbs their forehead with a composition made of saffron, and the powder of white sawnders dissolved in water, then they return home, where they eat a slight breakfast; and seeing they must never eat unless they be washed, some return to the tank or river, about noon; and others perform their ablutions at home, before they go to dinner.

As they have a special care not to eat anything but what is dressed by a gentile of their caste, so they seldom eat anywhere but at home, and commonly they dress their victuals themselves, buying their flour, rice, and such other provisions in the shops of the Bannians, for they will not buy anywhere else.

These Bannians (as well as the Bramens and Kurmis) feed on butter, pulse, herbs, sugar and fruit, they eat neither fish, nor flesh, and drink nothing but water, wherein they put coffee and tea; they use no dishes, for fear somebody of another religion or tribe, may have made use of the dish, out of which they might eat; and to supply that, they put their victuals into large leaves of trees, which they throw away when they are empty, nay, there are some of them who eat alone, and will not suffer neither their wives nor children at table with them.

Nevertheless, I was informed, that in that country one certain day of the year, the Bramens eat hog's flesh, but they do it privately for fear of scandal, because the rules of their sect enjoin them so to do, and I believe it is the same all over the Indies.

There is another day of rejoicing, whereon they make a cow of paste, which they fill full of honey, and then make a fashion of killing it, and break it to pieces, the honey which distills on all sides, represents the blood of the cow, and they eat the paste instead of the flesh. I could not learn the original of that ceremony, as for the Kshatriyas or Rajputs, except that they eat no pullets, they (as the rest of the inferior castes do) make use of all kinds of fish and flesh, unless it be the cow, which they all have in veneration.

The gentiles generally are great fasters, and none of them let a fortnight pass over without mortifying themselves by abstinence, and then they fast four and twenty hours; but that is but the ordinary fast, for there are a great many gentiles (and especially women) who will fast six or seven days; and they say, there are some that will fast a whole month, without eating any more than a handful of rice a day, and others that will eat nothing at all, only drink water, in which they boil a root, called Chirata, which grows towards Cambay, and is good against many distempers; it makes the water bitter, and strengthens the stomach. When a woman is at the end of one of these long fasts, the Bramen her director, goes with his companions to the house of the penitent, beats a drum there, and having permitted her to eat, returns home again. There are such fasts many times among the Vartias, the yogis, and other religious gentiles of that province, and they accompany them with several other mortifications.

Now I have mentioned these religious gentiles, I would have it observed, that in all the Indies there is no religious community amongst the gentiles, belonging particularly to one caste or tribe: For example, there is not any, whereinto none are admitted but Bramens or Rajputs, if there be a convent of yogis anywhere, the community will consist of Bramens, Rajputs, Kurmis, Bannians and other gentiles; and it is the same in a convent of Vartias, or a company of faquirs. I have already treated of both these, as occasion offered.



T H E province of Baglana is neither so large, nor does it yield so great a revenue as the other nineteen, for it pays the Great Mogul a year but seven hundred and fifty thousand French livres; it is bordered by the country of Telengana, Gujarat, Balaghat, and the mountains of Sivaji; the capital town of it is called Mouler. Before the Moguls, this province was also of Deccan, and at present it belongs to Mogulistan, by it the Portuguese border upon the Mogul's country, and their territories begin in the country of Daman.

The town of Daman that belongs to them, is one and twenty leagues from Surat, which is commonly travelled in three days. It is indifferently big, fortified with good walls, and an excellent citadel, the streets of it are fair and large, and the churches and houses built of a white stone, which makes it a pleasant town. There are several convents of religious Christians in it, it depends on Goa, as the other Portuguese towns do, especially as to spirituals, and the bishop keeps a vicar-general there. It lies at the entry of the Gulf of Cambay; and the Portuguese have slaves there of both sexes, which work and procreate only for their masters, to whom the children belong, to be disposed of at their pleasure; from Daman to Bassein it is eighteen leagues: This last town lies in the height of about nineteen degrees and a half, (upon the sea,) being walled round, and almost as big as Daman, it hath churches, and a College of Jesuits as Daman hath.

From Bassein to Bombay, it is six leagues; this last town hath a good port, and was by the Portuguese made over to the English, upon the marriage of the Infanta of Portugal with the King of England, in the year 1662; it is six leagues more from Bombay to Chaul. The port of Chaul is difficult to enter, but very safe and secure from all foul weather; it is a good town, and defended by a strong citadel upon the top of a hill, called by the Europeans, Il Morro di Ciaul; it was taken by the Portuguese, in the year one thousand five hundred and seven.

From Chaul to Dabhol, it is eighteen good leagues, Dabhol is an ancient town, in the latitude of seventeen degrees and

a half; it has its water from a hill hard by, and the houses of it are low; it being but weakly fortified; I am told Shivaji hath seized it, notwithstanding its castle, as also Rajapur, Vengurla, Rasigarh, and some other places upon that coast of Deccan. It is almost fifty leagues from Dabhol to Goa, which is in Bijapur.

As all the people of that coast are much given to seafaring, so the gentiles offer many times sacrifices to the sea, especially when any of their kindred or friends are abroad upon a voyage. Once I saw that kind of sacrifice, a woman carried in her hands a vessel made of straw, about three foot long, it was covered with a vail, three men playing upon the pipe and drum accompanied her, and two others had each on their head a basket full of meat and fruits; being come to the sea-side, they threw into the sea the vessel of straw, after they had made some prayers, and left the meat they brought with them upon the shoar, that the poor and others might come and eat it. I have seen the same sacrifice performed by Mahometans.

The gentiles offer another at the end of September, and that they call to open the sea, because nobody can sail upon their seas from May till that time, but that sacrifice is performed with no great ceremonies, they only throw cocos into the sea and every one throws one. The only thing in that action that is pleasant, is to see all the young boys leap into the water to catch the cocos, and whilst they strive to have and keep them, show a hundred tricks and feats of agility.

In this province (as in the rest of Deccan) the Indians marry their children very young, and make them cohabit much sooner than they do in many places of the Indies; they celebrate matrimony at the age of four, five or six years, and suffer them to bed together when the husband is ten years old, and the wife eight; but the women who have children so young, soon leave off child-bearing, and commonly do not conceive after thirty years of age, but become extremely wrinkly; and therefore there are places in the Indies where the young married couple are not suffered to lie together before the man be fourteen years old: After all, a gentile marries at any age, and cannot have several wives at a time as the Mahometans have: when his wife dies, he may take another, and so successively provided she he takes be a maid, and of his own caste.

There are many ceremonies to be seen at the wedding Indostan, because the gentiles are numerous there; there certain times (when in great towns) five or six hundred celebrated a day, and nothing is to be seen in the streets enclosures, these wedding enclosures are just as big as the front of the husband's house to the street, they are made of poles and canes hung in the inside, and covered with tapistry or cloth to preserve the guests from the heat of the sun, and there they feast and make merry.

But before the wedding feast, they must make the usual cavalcade through the town; persons of quality perform it in a manner I described in the chapter of Surat, and the citizens with far less pomp. This is their custom, first appear a great many people playing on instruments, some on flutes, others on timbals; and some have a long kind of drums like narrow barrels which hang about their neck, and besides these, others have copper-cups, which they strike one against another, and thereby render a very bad harmony; though these instruments together make a great noise, several little boys of five, six or seven years of age, come after on horse-back, and children two or three years old in little chariots, about a foot high, or somewhat more drawn by goats or calves and after them, the husband appears upon the fairest horse he can have, with a coco in his hand; he is clothed in his best apparel, his head covered with a garland of flowers, or a cap in form of a mitre, adorned with painted gold, and a fringe that reaches down to the lower part of his face; he hath about him a great many Bannians on foot, who have their coifs and caba-dawbed over with saffron, and are mingled with those that carry umbrellas and banners, who make a great show with them, after the bridegroom hath with this equipage made many turns about the town, he goes to the house of his bride, and there the ceremony is performed.

A Bramen having said some prayers over both, puts a cloth betwixt the husband and the wife, and orders the husband with his naked foot to touch the naked foot of his wife, and then the ceremony completes the marriage, the consummation whereof is delayed till a competent age, if the parties be too young, after that, the bride is conducted with her face uncovered to the bridegroom's lodgings, her train (which consists of sever-

pieces of stuff of different colours,) is carried by men, and amongst other pieces of household furniture, they carry a cradle for the child that is to be born of that marriage, drums and trumpets going before all the procession. The rich make their cavalcades by torch-light in the night-time for greater state, and are better accompanied. When they come to the bridegroom's house, the feasting begins, and because the husbands are obliged to treat most of their caste, the solemnity lasts seven or eight days.

The women all over the Indies are fruitful, because they live very frugally as well as their husbands, and they are so easily brought to bed, that some of them go abroad the same day they have been delivered, to wash themselves in the river. Their children are brought up with the same facility, they go naked till they be seven years old, and when they are two or three months old, they suffer them to crawl upon the ground till they be able to go; when they are dirty they wash them, and by degrees they come to walk as straight as ours do, without the torture of swathing-bands or clouts.

## 49. OF THE USAGE OF THE DEAD

THE Indian wives have a far different fate from that of their husbands, for they cannot provide themselves of a second, when their first husband is dead, they dare not marry again, they have their hair cut off for ever after; and though they be but five or six years old (they are obliged) if they will not burn themselves, to live in perpetual widowhood, which happens very often, but then they live wretchedly, for they incur the contempt of their family and caste, as being afraid of death, what Virtue soever they make appear, they can never regain the esteem of their relations, and it is rare (though they be young and beautiful,) that they ever find another husband, not but that some of them transgress the law of widowhood, but they are turned out of the tribe when it comes

to be known, and such of them as are resolved to marry again, have recourse to the Christians or Mahometans, and then they forsake gentilis me. In fine, the gentiles make the glory of widowhood, to consist in being burnt with the bodies of their husbands, when one asks them the cause of it, they say it is the custom, they pretend it was always so in the Indies, and so they hide their cruel jealousy under the vail of antiquity. When a heathen man or woman has committed a sin that makes them be expelled the caste, as if a woman had lain with a Mahometan, she must (if she would be readmitted into the tribe) live upon nothing for a certain time, but on the grain that is found amongst cow-dung.

The most usual way of ordering the bodies of men, after their death in the Indies, is to wash them in the water of a river or reservatory, near to which there is a pagoda, then to burn them, and throw the ashes into the same water; in some countries they leave them upon the brink of the river, but the ceremony of burying differs according to places; in some places the body is carried, (with beat of drum) sitting uncovered in a chair, clothed in goodly apparel, and accompanied with his relations and friends; and after the usual ablution, it is surrounded with wood and his wife who hath followed in triumph, hath her seat prepared there, where she places herself singing, and seeming very desirous to die. A Bramen ties her to a stake that is in the middle of the funeral pile, and sets fire to it, the friends pour odoriferous oils into it, and in a short time both the bodies are consumed.

In other places the bodies are carried to the river-side in a covered litter, and being washed, they are put into a hut full of odoriferous wood, if they who are dead have left enough to defray the charges. When the wife (who is to be burnt) hath taken leave of her kindred, and by such gallantries as may convince the assembly, (which many times consists of the whole caste,) that she is not at all afraid of dying; she takes her place in the hut under the head of her husband, which she holds upon her knees, and at the same time recommending herself to the prayers of the Bramen, she presses him to set fire to the pile, which he fails not to do.

Elsewhere they make wide and deep pits, which they fill with all sorts of combustible matter; they throw the body of

the deceased into it, and then the Bramens push in the wife after she hath sung and danced, to show the firmness of her resolution, and sometimes it happens, that maid slaves throw themselves into the same pit after their mistresses, to show the love they bore to them, and the ashes of the burnt bodies are afterwards scattered in the river

In the other places, the bodies of the dead are interred with their legs across, their wives are put into the same grave alive, and when the earth is filled up to their neck, they are strangled by the Bramens

There are several other kinds of funerals among the gentiles of the Indies, but the madness of the women in being burnt with their husbands, is so horrid, that I desire to be excused that I write no more of it

To conclude, the women are happy that the Mahometans are become the masters in the Indies, to deliver them from the tyranny of the Bramens, who always desire their death, because these ladies being never burnt without all their ornaments of gold and silver about them, and none but they having power to touch their ashes, they fail not to pick up all that is precious from amongst them. However, the Great Mogul and other Mahometan princes, having ordered their governors to employ all their care in suppressing that abuse, as much as lies in their power, it requires at present great solicitations and considerable presents, for obtaining the permission of being burnt, so that the difficulty they meet with in this, secures a great many women from the infamy they would incur in their caste, if they were not forced to live by a superior power

# BOOK II

## OF THE INDIES

## 1. OF DECAN AND MALABAR

DECCAN was heretofore a most powerful kingdom, if one may believe the Indians; it consisted of all the countries that are in that great tongue of land, which is betwixt the gulfs of Cambay and Bengal, all obeyed the same king; nay, and the provinces of Balaghat, Telengana and Baglana, which are towards the north, were comprehended within it, so that it may be said, that at that time there was no king in the Indies more powerful than the king of Deccan; but that kingdom in process of time hath been often dismembered, and in the beginning of the last age, (when the Portuguese made conquests therein) it was divided into many provinces, for they found there the kings of Calicut, Cochin, Cannanore and Quilon upon the coast of Malabar. Another king reigned at Narsingue, there were some commonwealths in it also, and the dominions of him (who was called king of Deccan) reached no further than from the limits of the kingdom of Cambay or Gujarat, to the borders of the principality of Goa, which did not belong to him neither.

Calicut was the first place of the Indies, which the Portuguese discovered in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, under the conduct of Vasco de Gama. The king of Calicut, who at first received them friendly, would at length, have destroyed them, at the instigation of Arabian merchants, and the greatest wars they had in the Indies, was against that king. The king of Cochin made alliance with them, and the kings of Cannanore and Quilon invited them to come and trade with them.

Malabar (which is the country of all these kings) begins at Cannanore, and ends at Cape Comorin; the most powerful of all these princes, was the king of Calicut, who took the quality of Zamorin or emperor. The port of Calicut, lying in the latitude of eleven degrees twenty-two minutes, is at some distance from the town, before the coming of the Portuguese, it was the most considerable port of the Indies for commerce, and ships came thither from all parts. The town has no walls, because there



ing that there is a Nayar not far from him, turns aside out of the way, that he may not meet him. Seeing these Pulayans cannot enter into town, if any of them need anything, they are obliged to ask for it without the town, crying as loud as they can, and leaving money for it in a place appointed for that traffic; when they have left it and told so, they are to withdraw, and a merchant fails not to bring what they demand; he takes the true value of his commodity, and so soon as he is gone, the Pulayan comes and takes it, and so departs.

Cavalry are not used in the wars, neither in Cochin, nor the rest of Malabar; they that are to fight otherwise than on foot, are mounted upon elephants, of which there are many in the mountains, and these mountain-elephants are the biggest of the Indies. The idolaters tell a false story at Cochin, which they would have nobody to doubt of, because of the extraordinary respect they have for a certain reservatory, which is in the middle of one of their pagodas. This great pagoda stands upon the side of a river, called by the Portuguese *Rio Largo*, which runs from Cochin to Cranganore, it goes by the name of the Pagoda of Swearing, and they say, that the reservatory or tank, which is in that temple, has communication under ground with the river, and that when anyone was to make oath judicially about a matter of importance, he that was to swear, was brought to the tank, where a crocodile was called upon, which commonly kept there, that the man put himself upon the back of the creature when he swore, that if he said truth, the crocodile carried him from one end of the reservatory to the other, and brought him back again sound and safe to the place where it took him up; and if he told a lie, that the beast having carried him to one side of the tank, carried him again into the middle, where it dived under water with the man; and though at present there be no crocodile in that reservatory, yet they confidently affirm that the story is true.

Quilon (which is the capital town of the little kingdom of that name) is four and twenty leagues to the south of Cochin, but the king keeps not commonly his court there. Before Calicut was in reputation, all the traffic of that country was at Quilon, and then it was a flourishing town, but it is much diminished now both in wealth and inhabitants. The haven of

it is safe, and the tide runs a great way up in the river. There are a great many Christians of St. Thomas at Quilon as well as at Cochin, they pretend that they have preserved the purity of the faith, which that apostle taught their ancestors, and there are a great many also in the mountains that run from Cochin to St. Thomas by Madura. In the divine office they make use of the Sarrack language, and most of them are subjects of the king of Cochin, as well as many families of the Jews, who live in that country. I have been also told of a little kingdom (called Kayangulam) that is in those parts, where there is also another little prince, and so these little kingdoms terminate Malabar to the south, as Cannanore begins it to the north.

There is a good harbour at Cannanore, which is a large town, the little king (who is called king of Cannanore) lives not there, he holds his court towards a straight farther from the sea, his country affords all things necessary for life, the Portuguese have been always his friends, and many of them live in his country.

The Malabars of Badagore, Kottakkal and Muttungal near Cannanore, are the chief pirates of the Indian sea, and there are many robbers also in the country, though the magistrates, do all they can to root them out. The truth is, they will put man to death for a single leaf of betel stolen, they tie his hands, and having stretched him out upon his belly, run him through with a javelin of areca, then they turn him upon his back, and the javelin being quite through his body, they fasten it in the ground, and bind the criminal so fast to it that he cannot stir, but dies in that posture.

All the Malabars write as we do (from the left to the right) upon the leaves of palmeras-bravas, and for making their characters, they use a stiletto a foot long at least, the letters which they write to their friends on these leaves, are made up round, like a roll of ribbons, they make their books of several of these leaves, which they file upon a string, and enclose them betwixt two boards of the same bigness, they have many ancient books (and all almost in verse) which they are great lovers of. I believe the reader will be glad to see their characters, and I have hereto subjoined the alphabet. The Bramens are held in greater honour here than elsewhere, what war soever there may be amongst the princes of Malabar, enemies do them no hurt, and

As many other captains were concerned in the conspiracy, so were other principalities erected in Deccan, but most of them fell under the power of the first three, or of their successors. These three princes possessed their kingdoms without trouble, so long as they lived together in good intelligence, and they defeated the army of the Mogul in a famous battle, but they fell aclashing amongst themselves about the end of their reigns, and their children succeeded to their misunderstandings as well as to their dominions, to which the cunning of the Moguls did not a little contribute. These have by degrees taken from them the provinces of Balaghat, Telengana and Baglana, or at least the greatest part of them, and Aurangzeb seized of a great many good towns in Bijapur, when he was no more as yet but the governor of a province, which would not have happened, if the king of Vijayanagar had assisted his neighbour as he ought to have done. The want of assistance on that king's part, so exasperated the king of Bijapur, that he no sooner made peace with the Mogul in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty, but he made a league with the king of Golconda against the king of Vijayanagar, and entered into a war with him, they handled him so very roughly, that at length, they stript him of his dominions. The king of Golconda seized those of the coast of Coromandel, which lay conveniently for him, and the king of Bijapur having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquest as far as the Cape of Negapatan, so that Adil Shah was left without a kingdom, and constrained to fly into the mountains where he still lives deprived of his territories. His chief town was Vellore, five days' journey from St. Thomas, but that town at present belongs to the king of Bijapur, as well as Gingee, and several others of Carnatic.

This kingdom of Carnatic or Vijayanagar, which was formerly called Narsingue, began three days journey from Golconda towards the south; it had many towns, and the provinces thereof crossed from the coast of Coromandel to the coast of Malabar, reaching a great way towards the Cape of Comorin; it had Bijapur and the sea of Cambay to the west, and the sea of Bengal to the east; what of it belongs to the king of Bijapur is at present governed by an eunuch of threescore and ten years of age, (called Riza Quli), who conquered it with extra-

ordinary expedition. That raja (to whom the king gave the surname of Neknam Khan) which is as much as to say, *Lord of good renown*, is the richest subject of the Indies<sup>1</sup>

Whilst I was in Carnatic, the kings of Bijapur and Golconda attacked a certain raja, who had a fort whither he retreated betwixt the two kingdoms, there he committed an infinite number of robberies, and in the last war that the Great Mogul made in Bijapur, that raja (set on by the Mogul) made considerable incursions into the countries of the two kings, which made them force him to the utmost extremity, so that they took his fort, made him prisoner, and seized all his riches.

The kingdom of Bijapur is bounded to the east by Carnatic, and the mountain of Balaghat, to the west by the lands of the Portuguese, to the north by Gujarat and the province of Balaghat, and to the south by the country of the Nayak of Madura, whose territories reach to the Cape Comorin. This Nayak is tributary to the king of Bijapur, as well as the Nayak of Tanjore, to whom belonged the towns of Negapatan, Tranquebar, and some others towards the coast of Coromandel, when the king of Bijapur took them. Negapatan fell since into the hands of the Portuguese, but the Dutch took it from them, and are at present masters of it. The Danes have also seized a place (where they have built a fort towards Tranquebar) which is distant from St Thomas five days journey of a foot-post, which they call pattamar.

As to the famous pagoda of Tirupati, (which is not far from Cape Comorin) it depends on the Nayak of Madura; it consists of a great temple, and of many little pagodas about it; and there are so many lodgings for the Bramens, and the servants of the temple, that it looks like a town. There is a great deal of riches in that pagoda

The king of Bijapur is the most potent prince of all those of Deccan, and therefore he is often called king of Deccan. His chief city is Bijapur, which hath given the name to the kingdom, and he hath many other considerable towns in his provinces with three or four ports, to wit, Kareputtun, Dabul, Rajapore, and Vingourla; but I am informed that Raja Shivaji hath seized some of them not long since. The town of Bijapur is above four or five leagues in circumference, it is fortified

with a double wall, with many great guns mounted, and a flat bottomed ditch The king's palace is in the middle of the town, and is likewise encompassed with a ditch full of water, wherein there are some crocodiles This town hath several large suburbs full of goldsmiths' and jewellers' shops, yet after all, there is but little trade, and not many things remarkable in it

The king (who reigns in Bijapur at present) was an orphan, whom the late king and the queen adopted for their son, and after the death of the king, the queen had so much interest as to settle him upon the throne, but he being as yet very young, the queen was declared regent of the kingdom, Nevertheless, there has been a great deal of weakness during her government, and Raja Shrivaji hath made the best on it for his own elevation

### 3. OF GOA

THE town of Goa (with its isle of the same name,) which is likewise called Tisvadi, borders upon Bijapur, directly southward, it lies in the latitude of fifteen degrees and about forty minutes upon the river of Mandavi, which discharges itself into the sea two leagues from Goa, and gives it one of the fairest harbours in the world, some would have this country to be part of Bijapur, but it is not, and when the Portuguese came there, it belonged to a prince called Zabaim, who gave them trouble enough, nevertheless, Albuquerque made himself master of it in February one thousand five hundred and ten, through the cowardice of the inhabitants, who put him into possession of the town and fort, and took an oath of allegiance to the king of Portugal

This town hath good walls, with towers and great guns, and the isle itself is walled round, with gates towards the land, to hinder the slaves from running away, which they do not fear (towards the sea) because all the little isles and peninsulas that are there, belong to the Portuguese, and are full of their sub

jects This isle is plentiful in corn, beasts and fruit, and hath a great deal of good water The city of Goa is the capital of all those which the Portuguese are masters of in the Indies The Archbishop, Viceroy and Inquisitor General, have their residence there, and all the governors and ecclesiastic and secular officers of the other countries (subject to the Portuguese nation in the Indies) depend on it Albuquerque was buried there in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen, and St Francis of Xavier in one thousand five hundred fifty-two The river of Mandavi is held in no less veneration by the Bramens and other idolaters, than Ganges is elsewhere, and at certain times, and upon certain festival days, they flock thither from afar, to perform their purifications It is a great town, and full of fair churches, lovely convents, and palaces well beautified, there are several orders of religious, both men and women there, and the Jesuits alone have five public houses, few nations in the world were so rich in the Indies as the Portuguese were, before their commerce was ruined by the Dutch, but their vanity is the cause of their loss, and if they had feared the Dutch more than they did, they might have been still in a condition to give them the law there, from which they are far enough at present

There are a great many gentiles about Goa, some of them worship apes, and I observed elsewhere that in some places they have built pagodas to these beasts Most part of the gentiles, heads of families in Bijapur, dress their own victuals themselves, he that does it having swept the place where he is to dress anything, draws a circle, and confines himself within it, with all that he is to make use of, if he stand in need of anything else, it is given him at a distance, because nobody is to enter within that circle, and if any chanced to enter it, all would be profaned, and the cook would throw away what he had dressed, and be obliged to begin again When the victuals are ready, they are divided into three parts, the first part is for the poor, the second for the cow of the house, and the third portion for the family, and of this third they make as many commons as there are persons, and seeing they think it not civil to give their leavings to the poor, they give them likewise to the cow

#### 4. OF THE KINGDOM OF GOLCONDA OF BAGNAGAR

THE most powerful of the kings of Deccan, next to Bijapur, is the king of Golconda. His kingdom borders on the east side, upon the Sea of Bengal, to the north, upon the mountains of the country of Orissa; to the south, upon many countries of Vijayanagar, or ancient Narsingue, which belongs to the king of Bijapur, and to the west, upon the empire of the Great Mogul, by the province of Balaghat, where the village of Calvar is, which is the last place of Mogulistan, on that side. There are very insolent collectors of tolls at Calvar, and when they have not what they demand, they cry with all their force, their *li, li, li*, striking their mouth with the palm of their hand, and at that kind of alarm-bell, which is heard at a great distance, naked men come running from all parts, carrying staves, lances, swords, bows, arrows, and some, muskets, who make travellers pay by force what they have demanded, and when all is paid, it no easy matter still to get rid of them.

The boundaries of Mogulistan and Golconda, are planted about a league and a half from Calvar. They are trees which they call mahua; these mark the outmost land of the Mogul, and immediately after, on this side of a rivulet, there are cadjours, or wild palm-trees, planted only in that place, to denote the beginning of the kingdom of Golconda, wherein the insolence of collectors is far more insupportable than in the confines of Mogulistan, for the duties not being exacted there, in the name of the king, but in the name of private lords, to whom the villages have been given, the collectors make travellers pay what they please. We found some officers, where they made us give fifty rupees, instead of twenty, which was their due, and to show that it was an extortion of the exactors, they refused to give us a note for what they had received, and in the space of three and twenty leagues betwixt Calvar and Bhagnagar, we were obliged with extreme rigour, to pay to sixteen officers, Bramens are the collectors of these tolls, and are a much rugged sort of people to do with than the Bannians.

In our way from Calvar to Bhagnagar we found no other town but Bikanur, but there are others to the right and left;

we passed by eighteen villages. The nauab or governor of the province, lives in the little town of Medchal, and we made that journey in six days of caravan. In short, there are few or no countries, that delight travellers with their verdure, more than the Fields of this kingdom, because of the rice and corn that is to be seen everywhere, and the many lovely reservatories that are to be found in it.

The capital city of this kingdom is called Bhagnagar, the Persians call it Hyderabad, it is fourteen or fifteen leagues from Bijapur, situated in the latitude of seventeen degrees ten minutes, in a very long plain, hemmed in with little hills, some cosses distant from the town, which makes the air of that place very wholesome, besides that, the country of Golconda lies very high. The houses of the suburbs, where we arrived, are only built of earth and thatched with straw, they are so low and ill contrived, that they can be reckoned no more than huts. We went from one end to the other of that suburbs, which is very long, and stopped near the bridge which is at the farther end of it. There we stayed for a note from the Kotwal to enter the town, because of the merchant's goods of the caravan, which were to be carried to the Kotwal's house to be searched. But a Persian named Ak-Nazar, a favourite of the king, who knew the chief of the caravan, being informed of its arrival, sent immediately a man with orders, to let us enter with all the goods, and so we passed the bridge, which is only three arches over. It is about three fathom broad, and is paved with large flat stones. The river of Nerva runs under that bridge, which then seemed to be but a brook, though in time of the rains, it be as broad as the Seine before the Louvre at Paris. At the end of the bridge, we found the gates of the city, which are no more but barriers. Being entered, we marched a quarter of an hour through a long street with houses on both sides, but as low as those of the suburbs, and built of the same materials, though they have very lovely gardens.

We went to a caravanserai called Nimet-ulla, which has its entry from the same street. Everyone took his lodging there, and I hired two little chambers, at two rupees a month. The town makes a kind of cross, much longer than broad, and extends in a straight line, from the bridge to the four towers;



but beyond these towers the street is no longer straight, and whilst in walking I measured the length of the town, being come to the four towers, I was obliged to turn to the left, and entered into a maidan, where there is another street that led me to the Town-Gate, which I looked for. Having adjusted my measures, I found that Bhagnagar was five thousand six hundred and fifty paces in length, to wit, two thousand four hundred and fifty from the bridge to the towers, and from thence, through the maidan to the gate which leads to Masulipatan, three thousand two hundred paces. There is also beyond that gate, a suburb eleven hundred paces long

There are several maidans or public places in this town, but the fairest is that before the king's palace. It hath to the east and west two great divans very deep in the ground, the roof whereof being of carpenter's work, is raised five fathom high, upon four wooden pillars; this roof is flat, and hath balisters of stone cast over archways, with turrets at the corners. These two divans serve for tribunals to the Kotwal, whose prisons are at the bottom of these divans, each of them having a bason of water before them. *The like balisters go round the terrace-walls of the place:* The royal palace is to the north of it, and there is a portico over against it, where the musicians come several times a day to play upon their instruments, when the king is in town.

In the middle of this place, and in sight of the royal palace, there is a wall built, three foot thick, and six fathom in height and length, for the fighting of elephants, and that wall is betwixt them, when they excite them to fight; but so soon as they are wrought up to a rage, they quickly throw down the wall. The ordinary houses there, are not above two fathom high; they raise them no higher, that they may have the fresh air during the heats, and most part of them are only of earth; but the houses of persons of quality are pretty enough.

The palace which is three hundred and fourscore paces in length, takes up not only one of the sides of the place, but is continued to the four towers, where it terminates in a very lofty pavilion. The walls of it which are built of great stones, have at certain distances half towers, and there are many windows towards the place, with an open gallery to see the shows. They

say it is very pleasant within, and that the water rises to the highest apartments. The reservatory of that water, which is brought a great way off, is in the top of the four towers, from whence it is conveyed into the house by pipes. No man enters into this palace, but by an express order from the king, who grants it but seldom, nay, commonly nobody comes near it, and in the place there is a circuit staked out, that must not be passed over. There is another square maidan in this town, where many great men have well-built houses. The caravanserais are generally all handsome, and the most esteemed is that which is called Nimet-ulla in the great street opposite to the king's garden. It is a spacious square, and the court of it is adorned with several trees of different kinds, and a large bason where the Mahometans perform their ablutions.

That which is called the four towers, is a square building, of which each face is ten fathom broad, and about seven high. It is opened in the four sides, by four arches, four or five fathom high, and four fathom wide, and every one of these arches, fronts a street, of the same breadth as the arch. There are two galleries in it, one over another, and over all a terrace that serves for a roof, bordered with a stone-balcony; and at each corner of that building, a decagone tower about ten fathom high, and each tower hath four galleries with little arches on the outside; the whole building being adorned with roses and festons pretty well cut. It is vaulted underneath, and appears like a dome, which has in the inside all round balisters of stone, pierced and open as the galleries in the outside, and there are several doors in the walls to enter it. Under this dome there is a large table placed upon a divan, raised seven or eight foot from the ground, with steps to go up to it. All the galleries of that building, serve to make the water mount up, that so being afterwards conveyed to the king's palace, it might reach the highest apartments. Nothing in that town seems so lovely as the outside of that building, and nevertheless it is surrounded with ugly shops made of wood, and covered with straw, where they sell fruit, which spoils the prospect of it.

There are many fair gardens in this town, their beauty consists in having long walks kept very clean, and lovely fruit-trees, but they have neither beds of flowers nor water-works,

and they are satisfied with several cisterns or basons with water. The gardens without the town are the loveliest, and I shall only describe one of them, that is reckoned the pleasantest of the kingdom. At first one enters into a great place which is called the first garden; it is planted with palms and areca-trees, so near to one another, that the sun can hardly pierce through them. The walks of it are straight and neat, with borders of white flowers which they call *gul-i-daudi*, the flowers of David, like camomile-flowers; there are also Indian gilly-flowers, with some other sorts. The house is at the end of this garden, and has two great wings adjoining the main body of it. It is two storey high, the first consisting in three halls, of which the greatest is in the middle, the main body of the house, and in each wing there is one, all three having doors and windows, but the great hall has two doors, higher than the others, which open into a large *kioch* or *divan*, supported by eight great pillars in two rows. Crossing the hall and *divan*, one goes down a pair of stairs into another *divan* of the same form, but longer, which (as the former) hath a room on each side, opened with doors and windows. The second storey of the building is like the first, save that it hath but one *divan*, but it hath a balcony that reaches the whole length of that front of it. The house is covered with a flat roof of so great extent, that it reaches over the outmost *divan* of the lower storey, and is supported by six eight-cornered wooden pillars, six or seven fathom high, and proportionably big.

From the lower *divan*, a terrace-walk two hundred paces long, and fifty broad, faced with stones runs along all the front of the house; and two little groves of trees, that are on the sides of it. This terrace that is at the head of the second garden, (which is much larger than the first,) is raised a fathom and a half above it, and has very neat stairs for going down into it. The first thing that is to be seen (looking forwards,) is a great square reservatory or tank, each side whereof is above two hundred paces long, in it there are a great many pipes that rise half a foot above water, and a bridge upon it, raised about a foot over the surface of the water, and above six foot broad, with wooden rails. This bridge is fourscore paces long, and leads into a platform of an octagone figure in the middle of the

reservatory, where there are steps to descend into the water, which is but about a foot lower than the platform. There are pipes in the eight angles of it, and in the pillars of the rails, from whence the water plays on all sides, which makes a very lovely sight. In the middle of the platform there is a little house built two stories high, and of an octagone figure also, each storey hath a little room with eight doors, and round the second storey there is a balcony to walk in. The roof of this building which is flat, is bordered with balisters, and covers the whole platform also. That roof is supported by sixteen wooden pillars, as big as a man's body, and about three fathom high, (if you comprehend their capitals,) and there are two of them at each angle, of which one rests upon the wall of the house, and the other is near the rails that go round it.

The garden wherein this reservatory is, is planted with flowers and fruit-trees: All are in very good order, and in this, as well as in the first garden, there are lovely walks well gravelled, and bordered with diverse flowers. There runs a canal in the middle of the great walk, which is four foot over, and carries away what it receives from several little fountains of water, that are also in the middle of that walk, at certain distances. In short, this garden is very large, and bounded by a wall which hath a great gate in the middle that opens into a close of a large extent, planted with fruit-trees, and as neatly contrived as the gardens.

## 5. OF THE INHABITANTS OF BHAGNAGAR

T H E R E are many officers and men of law at Bhagnagar, but the most considerable is the Kotwal: He is not only governor of the town, but also chief customer of the kingdom. He is besides, master of the mint-house, and supreme judge of the city, as well in civil as criminal matters; he rents all these places of the king, for which he pays a good deal of money. There are in this town many rich merchants, bankers and jewellers,

and vast numbers of very skilful artisans. Amongst the inhabitants of Bhagnagar, we are to reckon the forty thousand horse, Persians, Moguls, or Tartars, whom the king entertains, that he may not be again surprised, as he hath been heretofore by his enemies.

Besides the Indian merchants that are at Bhagnagar, there are many Persians and Armenians, but through the weakness of the government, the omras sometimes squeeze them, and whilst I was there, an omra detained in his house a gentile banker whom he had sent for, and made him give him five thousand chequins; upon the report of this extortion, the bankers shut up their offices, but the king commanded all to be restored to the gentile, and so the matter was taken up

The tradesmen of the town, and those who cultivate the land, are natives of the country. There are many Franks also in the kingdom, but most of them are Portuguese, who have fled thither for crimes they have committed: However the English and Dutch have lately settled there, and the last make great profits. They established a factory there, (three years since) where they buy up for the company, many chites and other clothes, which they vent elsewhere in the Indies. They bring from Masulipatan upon oxen, the goods which they know to be of readiest sale in Bhagnagar; and other towns of the kingdom, as cloves, pepper, cinnamon, silver, copper, tin, and lead, and thereby gain very much, for they say, they get five and twenty for one, of profit; and I was assured that this profit amounted yearly to eleven or twelve hundred thousand French livres. They are made welcome in that country, because they make many presents, and a few days before I parted from Bhagnagar, their governor began to have trumpets and tymbals, and a standard carried before him, by orders from his superiors.

Public women are allowed in the kingdom, so that nobody minds it when they see a man go to their houses, and they are often at their doors well dressed, to draw in passengers. But they say most of them are spoiled. The common people give their wives great liberty: When a man is to be married, the father and mother of his bride, make him promise that he will not take it ill, that his wife go and walk through the town, or visit her neighbours, nay and drink tary, a drink that the Indians of Golconda are extremely fond of.

When a theft is committed at Bhagnagar, or elsewhere, they punish the thief by cutting off both his hands, which is the custom also in most countries of the Indies.

The most current money in this kingdom, are the pagodas, rupees of Mogul, the half rupees, quarter rupees and pechas. The pagodas are pieces of gold, of which there are old and new ones, when I was at Bhagnagar, the old were worth five rupees and a half, that is to say, about eight French livres, because they were scarce then, and the new were only worth four rupees, that is about six livres, but both rise and fall, according as people stand in need of them. And the rupees which in Mogulistan are worth but about half a crown, pass in Golconda for five and fifty pechas, which are worth six and forty or seven and forty sols. This money of pechas is coined at Bhagnagar, but the Dutch at present furnishing the copper, these pechas are for them, which afterward by the way of trade they change into pagodas and rupees.

Seeing the kingdom of Golconda may be said to be the country of diamonds, it will not be amiss to know the price that is commonly given for them proportionably to their weight. The chief weight of diamonds, is the mangelin, it weighs five grains and three-fifths, and the carat weighs only four grains, and five mangelins make seven carats. Diamonds that weigh but one or two mangelins, are commonly sold for fifteen or sixteen crowns the mangelin, such as weigh three mangelins, are sold for thirty crowns the mangelin; and for five crowns one may have three diamonds, if all the three weigh but a mangelin. However the price is not fixed, for one day I saw fifty crowns a mangelin paid for a diamond of ten mangelins, and next day there was but four and forty a mangelin, paid for another diamond that weighed fifteen mangelins. Not long after, I was at the castle with a Hollander who bought a large diamond weighing fifty mangelins, or threescore and ten carats, he was asked seventeen thousand crowns for it, he bargained for it a long while, but at length drew the merchant aside to strike up a bargain, and I could not prevail with him to tell me what he paid for it. That stone has a grain in the middle, and must be cut in two. He bought another at Bhagnagar, which weighed thirty-five mangelins or eight and forty carats, and he had the carat for five hundred and fifty-five guilders.

## 6. OF THE CASTLES OF GOLCONDA

THE castle where the king commonly keeps his court, is t leagues from Bhagnagar, it is called Golconda, and the king bears the same name Qutb-Shah the first, gave it that name because after his usurpation seeking out for a place where might build a strong castle, the place where the castle star was named to him by a shepherd, who guided him through wood to the hill where the palace is at present; and the place appearing very proper for his design, he built the castle there and called it Golconda, from the word golla, which in the Telugu language signifies a shepherd. all the fields about Golconda were then but a forest, which were cleared by little and little, and the wood burnt. This place is to the west of Bhagnagar the plain that leads to it, as one goes out of the suburbs, affords a most lovely sight, to which the prospect of the hill that rises like a sugar-loaf in the middle of the castle which has the king's palace all round upon the sides of it contributes much by its natural situation. This fort is of a large compass, and may be called a town, the walls of it are built of stones three foot in length, and as much in breadth, and are surrounded with deep ditches divided into tanks, which are full of fair and good water.

But after all, it hath no works of fortification but five round towers, which (as well as the walls of the place) have a great many cannon mounted upon them, for their defence. Though there be several gates into this castle, yet two only are kept open, and as we entered, we crossed over a bridge built over a large tank, and then went through a very narrow passage betwixt two towers, which turning and winding, leads to a great gate guarded by Indians sitting on seats of stone, with their swords by them. They let no stranger in, if he have not permission from the governor, or be not acquainted with some officer of the king's. Besides the king's palace there is no good building in this castle, unless it be some officers' lodgings, but the palace is great, and well situated for good air, and a lovely prospect, and a Flemish surgeon who is in the king's service told me, that the chamber where he waited on the king, had

a kloek, from whence one may discover not only all the cas and country about, but also all Bhagnagar and that one m pass through twelve gates before one comes to the apartme of the prince Most part of the officers' lodge in the castle, whi hath several good bazars, where all things necessary, (especia for life) may be had, and all the omras, and other great lor have houses there, besides those they have at Bhagnagar

The king will have the good workmen to live there, a therefore appoints them lodgings for which they pay nothing I makes even jewellers' lodge in his palace, and to these only trusts stones of consequence, strictly charging them not to t any what work they are about, least if Aurangzeb should co to know that his workmen are employed about stones of gre value, he might demand them of him The workmen of t castle are taken up about the king's common stones, of whi he hath so many that these men can hardly work for anybo else

They cut sapphires with a bow of wire, whilst one workm handles the bow, another pours continually upon the sto very liquid solution of the powder of white emery made water, and so they easily compass their work That wh emery is found in stones, in a particular place of the kingdo and is called coriud in the Telugu language It is sold fo crown or two rupees the pound, and when they intend to i it, they beat it into a powder

When they would cut a diamond to take out some grain sand, or other imperfection they find in it, they saw it a lit in the place where it is to be cut, and then laying it upo hole that is in a piece of wood, they put a little wedge of ir upon the place that is sawed, and striking it as gently as m be, it cuts the diamond through

The king hath store of excellent bezoars The mounta where the goats feed that produce them, are to the north e of the castle, seven or eight days' journey from Bhagnagar, th are commonly sold for forty crowns the pound weight T long are the best They find of them in some cows, which a much bigger than those of goats, but of far less value, and the which of all others are most esteemed, are got out of a kind apes that are somewhat rare, and these bezoars are small and lor



dome, but have each of them their garden. All these sepulchres are sanctuaries, and how criminal soever a man may be that can get into them, he is secure. The ghari is rung there as well as in the castle, and all things are most exactly regulated amongst the officers. That ghari is pretty pleasant, though it be only rung with a stick, striking upon a large plate of copper that is held in the air, but the ringer strikes artfully, and makes harmony with it; the ghari serves to distinguish time. In the Indies the natural day is divided into two parts. The one begins at break of day, and the other at the beginning of the night, and each of these parts is divided into four quarters, and each quarter into eight parts, which they call ghari.

## 7. OF THE KING OF GOLCONDA THAT REIGNS

THE king that reigns is a Shia by religion, that is to say, of the sect of the Persians, he is the seventh since the usurpation made upon the successor of Shah Alam, king of Deccan, and he is called Abdullah Qutb Shah. I have already observed, that the name of all the kings of Golconda is Qutb Shah, as Adil Shah is the name of the kings of Bijapur. This king is the son of a Bramen lady, who hath had other princes also by the late king her husband, and was very witty. He was but fifteen years of age when his father (who left the crown to his eldest son) died; but the eldest being less beloved of the queen than Abdullah his younger brother, he was clapped up in prison, and Abdullah placed upon the throne. He continued in prison until the year one thousand six hundred fifty-eight, when Aurangzeb coming into the kingdom with an army, the captive prince had the boldness to send word to the king, that if he pleased to give him the command of his forces, he would meet the Mogul and fight him. The king was startled at that bold proposal, and was so far from granting him what he demanded, that he caused him to be poisoned.

The king of Golconda pays above five hundred thousand soldiers, and that makes the riches of the omras, because he who has pay for a thousand men, entertains but five hundred, and so do the rest proportionably. He allows a trooper (who ought to be either a Mogul or Persian) ten chequins a month, and for that pay, he ought to keep two horses and four or five servants. A foot-soldier (of these nations) hath five chequins, and ought to entertain two servants, and carry a musket. He gives not the Indians (his own subjects) above two or three rupees a month, and these carry only the lance and pike. Seeing the late king gave his soldiers better pay than this do's, he was far better served. He entertained always a strong army, and the number of men he paid was always complete. By that means he easily hindered the Great Mogul from attempting anything against him, and was not tributary to him as his son is.

Heretofore the king went ever now and then to his palace of Bhagnagar, but he hath not been there this eight years, since Aurangzeb (who was then but governor of a province) surprised him in it, having marched his forces with so great diligence, that they were at the gates of Bhagnagar, before the king had any news that they were marched from Aurangabad, so that he easily made himself master of the town. Nevertheless, the king in disguise, escaped by a private door, and retreated to the fort of Golconda. The Mogul plundered the town and palace, carrying away all the riches, even to the plates of gold, wherewith the floors of the king's apartment were covered. The queen-mother (at length) had the art to appease the conqueror, she treated with him in name of the king, and granted him one of his daughters in marriage for his son, with promise that he should leave the kingdom to him, if he had no male issue, and he hath none. Had it not been for that accommodation, he was upon the point of losing his kingdom, and perhaps his life too. Since that time he is apprehensive of every thing, and next to the queen-mother, he trusts nobody but Syed Muzaffar (his favourite) and the Bramens, because that queen is of the Bramen caste, and continually surrounded by them. The king knows of nothing but by them, and there are some appointed to hearken to what the vizier himself, and other officers have to say to the king, but his fear is much increased.

since the Great Mogul hath been in war with the king of Bijapur, whom in the beginning he assisted with two hundred thousand men, commanded by an eunuch, who was almost as soon recalled as sent, upon the complaints made by the Mogul's ambassador at Golconda. The king (to excuse himself) said, that that army was sent without his knowledge, and he is still in great apprehension of having the Moguls upon his back, if they succeed against the king of Bijapur, who hath hitherto defended himself very bravely. This shows the weakness of that king, he dares not put to death his omras, even when they deserve it, and if he find them guilty of any crime, he condemns them only to pay a fine, and takes the money. Nay, the Dutch begin to insult over him, and it is not long since they obliged him to abandon to them an English ship, which they had seized in the road of Masulipatan, though he had undertaken to protect her.

There is a prince also at his court, who begins to create him a great deal of trouble, and it is he whom they call the king's little son-in-law, who hath married the third of the princesses his daughters, because he is of the blood royal. He pretends to the crown, what promise soever hath been made to the Great Mogul, he makes himself to be served as the king himself is, who hitherto loved him very tenderly, but at present he is jealous of that son-in-law as well as of the rest, and fancies that he intends to destroy him, that he himself may reign, though he be reckoned a man of great integrity. There was in Bhagnagar a Moorish santo that lived near the caravanserai of Nimet Ulla, who was held in great veneration by the Mahometans, the house he lived in was built for him by a great omra, but he kept his windows shut all day, and never opened them till towards the evening, to give his benedictions to a great many people, who asked them with cries, prostrating themselves, and kissing the ground in his presence. Most part of the omras visited that cheat every evening, and when he went abroad (which happened seldom) he went in a palanquin, where he showed himself stark naked after the Indian fashion, and the people revered him as a saint. The great lords made him presents, and in the court of his house he had an elephant chained, which was given him by a great omra. Whilst I was in my journey to Carnatic,

the king's little son-in-law gave to this santo a great many jewels belonging to the princess his wife, daughter to the king; and since no man knew the motive of so great a present, which perhaps was only some superstitious devotion, it was presently given out that it was to raise forces against the king, that with the concurrence of the santo he might invade the crown. Whether that report was true or false, it is certain that the king sent to the santo's house, to fetch from thence his daughter's jewels and the elephant, and ordered him to depart out of the kingdom. The king's eldest daughter was married to the kinsman of a Sheikh of Mecca, the second married Mahmoud, eldest son to Aurangzeb, for the reasons I mentioned already: and the third is wife to the little son-in-law Mirza Abdul Cosing, who has male-children by her, and they say, the fourth is designed for the king of Byapur.

The king of Golconda has vast revenues, he is proprietary of all the lands in his kingdom, which he rents out to those who offer most, except such as he gratifies his particular friends with, to whom he gives the use of them for a certain time. The customs of merchant's goods that pass through his country, and of the ports of Masulipatan and Madraspatan yield him much, and there is hardly any sort of provisions in his kingdom, from which he hath not considerable dues

The diamond-mines pay him likewise a great revenue, and all they whom he allows to dig in; those that are towards Masulipatan pay him a pagoda every hour they work there, whether they find any diamonds or not. His chief mines are in Carnatic in diverse places towards Byapur, and he hath six thousand men continually at work there, who daily find near three pound weight, and nobody digs there but for the king.

This prince wears on the crown of his head, a jewel almost a foot long, which is said to be of an inestimable value; it is a rose of great diamonds, three or four inches diameter; in the top of that rose there is a little crown, out of which issues a branch fashioned like a palm-tree branch, but is round, and that palm-branch (which is crooked at the top) is a good inch in diameter, and about half a foot long; it is made up of several springs, which are (as it were) the leaves of it, and each of which have at their end a lovely long pearl shaped like a pear,

at the foot of this posie, there are two bands of gold in fashion of table-bracelets, in which are encased large diamonds set round with rubies, which with great pearls that hang dangling on all sides, make an exceeding rare show; and these bands have clasps of diamonds to fasten the jewels to the head. In short, that king hath many other considerable pieces of great value in his treasury, and it is not to be doubted, but that he surpasses all the kings of the Indies in precious stones; and that if there were merchants (who would give him their worth,) he would have prodigious sums of money.

## 8. OF THE OMRAS OF GOLCONDA

THE omras are the great lords of the kingdom, who are (for the most part) Persians, or the sons of Persians, they are all rich, for they not only have great pay yearly of the king for their offices, but they make extreme advantage also by the soldiers, scarcely paying one half of the number they are obliged to entertain; besides that, they have gratifications from the king, of lands and villages, whereof he allows them the use, where they commit extraordinary extractions by the Bramens, who are their farmers.

These omras generally make a very handsome figure, when they go through the town, an elephant or two goes before them, on which three men carrying banners are mounted, fifty or sixty troopers well clothed, and riding on Persian or Tartarian horses, with bows and arrows, swords by their sides, and bucklers on their backs, follow them at some distance, and after these come other men on horse-back, sounding trumpets, and playing on fifes.

After them comes the omra on horse-back, with thirty or forty footmen about him, some making way, others carrying lances, and some with fine napkins driving away the flies, one of them holds an umbrella over his master's head, another carries the tobacco-pipe, and others pots full of water in hanging cases

of canes. The palanquin carried by four men, comes next with two other porters for change; and all this pomp is brought up by a camel or two, with men beating of timbals on their backs.

When the omra pleases, he takes his palanquin, and then his horse is led by him. The palanquin is sometimes covered with silver, and its canes or bamboos tipped with silver at both ends, the lord is to be seen lying in it, holding flowers in his hand, smoking tobacco, or else chewing betel and areca, showing by that *soft and effeminate posture a most supine dissoluteness*. All (who have any considerable pay, whether Moors or gentiles) imitate the gentiles, and are carried through the town in palanquins well attended; and the Dutch interpreter at Bhagnagar (who is a gentile,) goes at present with such an equipage, save only that instead of camels, he hath a chariot, but (at least) there is not a cavalier, but hath his umbrella bearer, his two fly-drivers, and his cup-bearer.

The betel (which these gentlemen chew in their palanquin) is a leaf not unlike to an orange-tree leaf, though it be not so broad, the stalk of it being weak, it is commonly planted near the areca-tree, to which it clings, and indeed, the Indians never take betel without an areca-nut, and they are sold together. The areca is very high, and much like to an ordinary palm-tree; it carries its nuts in clusters, and they are as big as dates, and insipid. This betel and areca keep all the Indians in countenance, and they use it in the streets and everywhere. They pretend that it is an excellent thing for the stomach, and for the sweetness of breath.

All that are called omras at Golconda, have not the ability of those whose train and equipage I have now observed, there are those who being not so rich, proportion their train to their revenue, besides, the quality of omra is become so common, and so much liberty allowed to take that title, that the Indians who guard the castle and the outside of the king's palace, to the number of a thousand, must needs be called omras also, though their pay be no more than about a crown a month. But in short, some of the great omras are exceeding rich. There was the omra, or rather the Mir Jumla, the son of an oil-man of Ispahan, who had the wealth of a prince. He left the service of the king of Golconda, went over to the Mogul,

and died governor of Bengal. It is well known, that he had a design to make himself king of Bengal, where he was very powerful, and that he only waited for a favourable occasion to get his son from the court of the Great Mogul, where he was detained as an hostage. He had twenty mans weight of diamonds, which make four hundred and eight pounds of Hollands weight, and all this wealth he got by the plunder he formerly made in Carnatic, when he was at the head of the army of the king of Golconda at the time when that king (in conjunction with the king of Bijapur) made war against the king of Vijayanagar. This general took a great many places there in a short time, but the fort of Gandikota standing upon the top of an inaccessible rock, put a full stop to his conquests. The town is upon the side of the hill, one must (in a manner) crawl up to come to it, and there is no way to enter it but by one narrow path. Mir Jumla being unable to force it, made use of his cunning and money, and so managed those (whom the Nayak sent to him to negotiate a peace,) that he wheedled out the governor, under pretext of entering into a league with him for great designs, but no sooner was he come to the place of meeting, but the omras made sure of his person, contrary to the promise he had given, and kept him constantly with him till he put him in possession of Gandikota. This place is within ten days' journey of St. Thomas, upon the main land.

I had been two months in the country when winter came on, it began in June by rain and thunder, but the thunder lasted not above four days, and the rain poured down with great storms of wind till the middle of July, though now and then we had some fair weather. The rest of that month was pretty fair, in August, September and October, there fell great rains, but without any thunder, the rivers overflowed so prodigiously that there was no passing over the bridges, no not with the help of elephants. The river of Bhagnagar beat down almost two thousand houses, in which many people perished. The air was a little cold in the night-time and morning, there was some heat during the day, but it was as moderate as it is in France in the month of May, and the air continued in this temper until February the year following, when the great heats began again.

These rains render the land of this kingdom exceeding fertile, which yields all things in abundance, and especially

fruits. Vines are plentiful there, and the grapes are ripe in January, though there be some that are not gathered but in February, March or April, according as the vines are exposed to the heat; they make white-wine of them. When the grapes are gathered, they prune the vines, and about midsummer they yield verjuice. In this country also they have two crops a year of rice, and many other grains.

## 9. THE AUTHORS DEPARTURE FROM BHAGNAGAR FOR MASULIPATAN

HAVING stayed long enough at Bhagnagar, I had a design to see some countries of the coast of Coromandel; and notwithstanding it was winter, I resolved to set out for Masulipatan. Seeing there was no travelling neither in coach nor chariot, because of the badness of the ways, and the frequent over flowings of the rivers and brooks, I hired a horse for myself, and two oxen for my servant and baggage, and I parted with some merchants. We came to a bourg called Ambarpet Kalan, eight leagues from Bhagnagar: They who have a mind to go to the diamond-mines of Ganj, take their way by Tenara, where the king has a stately palace, consisting of four large piles of stone-building, two stories high, and adorned with porticos, halls and galleries, and before the palace there is a large regular square; besides these royal apartments, there are habitations for travellers, and unalienable rents for entertaining the poor, and all passengers that please to stop there.

Having no business at these diamond-mines, which are six or seven days' journey from Golconda, we went the other way. In all our journey, we found but three small towns, which are Pangal, Sarchel and Penuganchyprolu, but we met with several rivers, the most considerable of which are Kistna and Musi; we went through sixteen or seventeen villages, about which the fields are always green and pleasant to the eye, though the way be very bad. There I saw trees of all kinds that are in the Indies, and even cassia-trees, though they are



scarce in other countries of the Indies; at length (in ten days' time) we arrived at Masulipatan, the whole journey makes about fifty-three French leagues, and in fair weather they perform it in a week's time

Masulipatan lies on the coast of Coromandel, in sixteen degrees and a half north-latitude. This town is situated upon the Gulf of Bengal east-south-east from Bhagnagar, though the town be but small, yet it is well peopled; the streets are narrow, and it is intolerably hot there from March till July. The houses are all separated one from another, and the water is brackish, because of the tides that come up to it; there is great trading there in chites, because, besides those that are made there, a great many are brought from St. Thomas, which are much finer, and of better colours than those of the other parts of the Indies.

Ambarpet Kalan, eight leagues from Bhagnagar. Chalkapalli 6 leag. from Ambarpet. Pangal, a town. Amangal 6 leag. and a half from Chalkapalli. Surchel-Quipentche, a town, half a leag. from Amen. Musi, a river. Gurglur 3 leag. from Sarchel. Anantagiri 4 leag. from Gurglur. Penuganchiprolu, a town, 5 leag. from Anantagiri. Pendyala, 5 leag. and a half from Penuganchiprolu. Maddura, 4 leag. from Pendyala. Kistna, a river. Vuyyuru, 4 leag. from Maddura. Nidumolu, 4 leag. from Vuyyuru. Guduru, 2 leag. from Nidumolu. Masulipatan, half a leag. from Guduru.

The coast is excellent, and therefore ships come thither from all nations, and go from thence into all countries. I saw there Cochinchinese, men of Siam, Pegu, and of many other kingdoms of the East.

The country of Masulipatan (as all the rest of the coast) is so full of idolaters, and the pagodas so full of the lascivious figures of monsters, that one cannot enter them without horror, it is exceeding fruitful, and provisions are very cheap there. The people of our caravan had a sheep for twelve pence, a partridge for a half-penny, and a fowl for less than two pence, it is the same almost all over the coast of Coromandel, where in there is no more commonly comprehended but what reaches from the cape of Negapatan to the cape of Masulipatan: But some authors carry it further, and will have it to reach from

Cape Comorin to the western mouth of the Ganges, though others make it to end at the cape, which the Portuguese call Das Palmas

There are several towns on this coast, some of which are good, and amongst others Negapatan, which lies in the latitude of twelve degrees: Trangabar, which is almost in the same latitude; Meliapour or St. Thomas which lies in the height of thirteen degrees and a half, and which the Moors (with the assistance of the Dutch) took back from the Portuguese in the year one thousand six hundred sixty-two.

The kingdom of Golconda reaches not above two leagues beyond St. Thomas. They say that St. Thomas suffered martyrdom in that town which bears his name; at St. Thomas they make lime of such shells as are brought from St. Michael in Normandy, and for that end they burn them with hogsdung.

The small-pox is very frequent in that country; but there is another more violent distemper that commonly commits greater ravage there. It is called Akeron, and only seizes children; it is an inflammation of the tongue and mouth, proceeding from too great heat; their parents are careful to cool them from time to time with herbs that are good against that disease, for otherwise it seizes the guts, reaches to the fundament, and kills the child. There are many Nayaks to the south of St. Thomas, who are sovereigns: The Nayak of Madura is one; he of Tangiour is at present a vassal to the king of Bijapur. Nayak properly signifies a captain; heretofore they were governors of places, and officers of the king; but having revelled, they made themselves sovereigns.

Pulicat is to the north of St. Thomas, and the factory (which the Dutch have established there) is one of the best they have in the Indies, by reason of the cotton-clothes, of which they have great warehouses full there. At Pulicat they refine the salt-petre which they bring from Bengal, and made the gun-powder, with which they furnish their other factories, they refine the salt-petre that they send to Europe in Batavia. The governor of Geldria, which is the fort of Pulicat, has of the Dutch fifty crowns a month pay, with fifty crowns more for his table, provisions of wine and oil, and his

clothes, which he can take when he pleases out of the company's warehouses. The current money at Pulicat, are rupees and pagodas, which are there worth four rupees, that is almost six French livres; they have fanons also which are small pieces, half gold and half silver; they have the same stamp as the pagodas have; six and a half of them (with half a quarter-piece) make a rupee; and six and twenty and a half a pagoda. They have also gazers, which are small copper-pieces, as big as a fanon, forty of which go to a fanon; and the Dutch at present coin all these pieces of money

Their company has a factory also at Palakollu, two days' journey northward from Masulipatan, and another at Draksharaman on the same coast. Bimilipatan is four days' journey northwards of Masulipatan. The traffic of those parts consists in rice, fine clothes, iron, wax and lacre, which is as good as at Pegu, and from abroad they import copper, tin, lead and pepper. From Bimilipatan to Chicacole it is fifteen hours travelling by land, and that is the last town of the kingdom of Golconda, on the side of Bengal. The governors of that country are great tyrants, and if any one threaten to inform the king of their exactions they'll laugh at it, and say that he is king of Golconda, and they of their governments; from Chicacole to Bengal it is a month's journey by land

In many places of the kingdom of Golconda the people are much infested by serpents, but one may cure himself of their sting, provided he neglect not the wound, and hold a burning coal very near the part that is stung, the venom is perceived to work out by degrees, and the heat of the fire is not at all troublesome. They make use also of the stone of cobra, which hath been spoken of before.

When I thought myself sufficiently informed of the places on the coast of Coromandel, I returned from Masulipatan to Bhagnagar, and stayed there three weeks longer, because I would not go from thence but in company of Monsieur Bazon, who had some business still remaining to make an end of, so that I had as much time as I needed to see the celebration of the festival of Husain, the son of Ali, which fell out at that time. The Moors of Golconda celebrated it with more fopperies than they do in Persia, there is nothing but masquarades for

many villages. The kingdom of Golconda ends on this side, betwixt the bourgs Kohir and Sajjapur.

From Bhagnagar to Danec five cosses. Nerva, a river to Chilkur 7 cosses. Penu, a river. To Shekerdeh 6 cosses. To Yakut-kepensh 3 cosses To Eniktala 6 cosses Momanpet, a town. Panchnogal, a town. To Kohir 8 cosses. Sajjapur. To Mamadgi, 6 cos. To Bidar 4 cos The cosses reduced make 22 leag. and a half Lodgings from Bidar to Pathri. To Htnur 12 coss. Manjra a river. To Marrag 8 coss. To Udgir 6 coss. To Hali 6 coss. To Rajura 6 coss. to Sawargaon 6 coss. Careck a river. Ganga a river. To Khalli 8 coss. to Rampuri 6 coss. to Pathri 8 coss. the whole 33 leagues The way from Pathri to Burhanpur. To Gohegaon 9 coss. Dudna a river. Putah a town, 6 coss. Ner a town, 6 coss Shivni 8 coss. Sindkhed a town, 2 coss. Amna a river. Jafarabad a town, 10 coss. Pimpalgaon 10 coss. Devalghat 6 coss. Rohankhed a town, 6 coss. Malkapur a town, 2 coss. Nalganga a river. Purna river. Dapora 12 coss. Tapti river. Burhanpur a town, 2 coss. The whole 39 leag. and a half

We parted from Bidar the twentieth of November, and I travelled thirty-three leagues more with Monsieur Bazon, but because he had business at Aurangabad, and I at Burhanpur, we parted the thirtieth of November at the town of Pathri, after we had passed the river Manjra, Careck and Ganga. We found upon our road the towns of Udgir, Rajura and Pathri, where the governors took great care to guard themselves from the parties of the king of Bijapur's army, with whom the Mogul was in war. For my part, (having taken another servant) I took my way by the towns of Patou, Ner, Sindkhed, Jafarabad, and Malkapur, all which six are not so good as one of our ordinary cities; and on Thursday the ninth of December I arrived at Burhanpur, which I have described before. In my way from Pathri to Burhanpur, I found the rivers Dudna, Nervar, Purna and Tapti, and I spent nine and twenty days in that journey, though in another season of the year it be performed in two and twenty.

I parted from Burhanpur (the capital city of the province of Khandesh) to return to Surat by the common road, and falling sick of a Cholic by the way, I learned a cure for it. The

Portuguese call the four sorts of Cholics that people are troubled with in the Indies (where they are frequent) Mordechim. The first is a bare Cholic, but that causes sharp pains; the second, besides the pain causes a looseness. They who are troubled with the third, have violent vomitings with the pains, and the fourth produces all the three symptoms, to wit, vomiting, looseness, and extreme pain; and this last I take to be the cholera morbus. These distempers proceed most commonly from indigestion, and cause sometimes such cutting pains, that they kill a man in four and twenty hours. The remedy which is used in the Indies against it, is to heat a peg of iron about half as big as one's finger red hot, clap it to the sole of the patient's heel, and hold it there till he be no longer able to endure it, so that the iron leave a mark behind it: The same must be done to the other heel with the same red hot iron, and that remedy is commonly so effectual that the pains instantly cease. If the patient be let blood with that burning, his life will be in evident danger, and several people have told me that when they let blood before they burn the heel, the patient infallibly dies, just as many days after he hath been let blood, as he was ill before; but blood-letting is not dangerous two days after the operation. There are some who make use of ligatures for this distemper, and bind the patient's head so fast with a swathing-band, as if they had a mind to squeeze out his brains, they do the same with his back, reins, thighs and legs; and when the patient finds no good of this ligature, they think him past cure.

A flux alone is also a common and very dangerous distemper in the Indies, for many die of it, and the least overheating brings it upon one. The remedy is to take two drachms of torrified rhubarb, and a drachm of cummin-seed, all must be beat into a powder, and taken in lemon-water, or (if that be wanting) in rose-water. The common people of the Indies have no other remedy against this distemper, but rice boiled in water till it be dry, they eat it with milk turned sour, and use no other food as long as the distemper lasts; the same they use for a bloody flux.

I travelled from Burhanpur to Surat with a Bannian and a Mulla that came from court. This Mulla having represented his

poverty to the king, obtained a pension from him of five hundred rupees, which amount to about seven hundred and fifty French livres, which was assigned to him upon a village. It is three-score and fifteen leagues from Burhanpur to Surat, and we spent a fortnight in the journey; we found many towns and castles on our road, and were never an hour without seeing some bourg or village; and seeing lions many times happen to be in the way, there were sheds or cottages under trees, whither the Indians betook themselves in the night-time; we crossed also some mountains and eight rivers; I saw nothing else but what was very common. We were put in fear of the troopers of the raja of Badur, who skulk in the mountains of Khandesh, and roam about everywhere, though at present their master renders obedience to the Great Mogul; but we met with none of them, and arrived safely at Surat.

INDIAN TRAVELS OF CARERI

BOOK I

A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

BY

Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri

PART III—CONTAINING THE MOST  
REMARKABLE THINGS HE SAW IN INDOSTAN

1. THE DESCRIPTION OF DAMAN A CITY  
BELONGING TO THE PORTUGUESE IN  
INDOSTAN



broad streets divide it in length, and four across them; all so regularly built, that the corners of the houses (which are for the most part trenched about) do not jut out an inch one beyond another; it is true most of them have only a ground floor, very few having any rooms above, and they are generally tiled. Instead of glass their windows are made of oyster shells curiously wrought and transparent. Every house has its garden or orchard with fruit trees.

The air of Daman is very good, being north of Goa, and though its summer and winter be at the same time as it is at Goa (for whilst I stayed it was summer in those parts, and the winter is from May till the end of September, with continual rain and storms) yet during that time I called summer, there is some sort of coolness in the morning, which is not at Goa.

It has four modern and well built bastions; but it is somewhat irregular, and ill provided with cannon. The compass is about two miles, without any ditch on the east and south sides, but with a low work, or entrenchment breast high. On the other sides the ditch is filled by an arm of the river, towards which there are two gates, and before the first a draw-bridge. All the walls are backed with ramparts.

The government is in a captain, or commandant, and it is kept by a good garrison. The factor before mentioned has the charge of the king's revenue. It is inhabited by Portugueses, Mestizos, who are born of white fathers and black mothers, pagans and Mahometans; but these two last are not allowed the free exercise of their religion. There are several good monasteries, as those of the Jesuits, the Recollects, the Augustinians, and the Parish Church; but none of them has above three altars opposite to the door. The monasteries are convenient enough for the religious men. That of S. Augustin, where I resided, had an excellent square cloister, with twelve good stone columns, besides the four great pillars at the angles. Above in the dormitory there are twenty-eight smaller columns.

All that has been here mentioned belongs to new Daman; for the old is on the right of the aforesaid river, consisting of poor low houses, or rather cottages with mud walls, and covered with palm-tree leaves. Here most of the Moors and gentiles live, having their shops of several trades along the ill-contrived streets.

Between the old city and the new is the harbour made by the river Daman, but no vessels either great or small can come in but at flood, during six hours of the day, as was said in the foregoing book, as it is at Ostend in Flanders and Calis in Picardy. The stream is so rapid at ebb that no oars can stem it, but they must needs come to an anchor (unless the wind sets in very hard,) and stay till the next flood. This is to be understood of vessels of small burden, for great ones can neither go in or out but twice a month, that is, when the moon is new and at the full, because of the spring tides, which there they call great tides.

The entrance into this harbour is defended by a small castle seated on the side of old Daman. It is longish and has three bastions, well enough furnished with cannon. On the north side of the city is a small suburb, consisting of cottages covered with palm-tree leaves, and inhabited by Christian blacks, and at a small distance from it, a village of gentiles, with a bazar.

In the year 1535, Martin Alfonso de Sousa took and destroyed Daman in three days. In 1559, D. Constantin son to the Duke of Braganza Viceroy of India, retook it from Asid Bosita Abyssino, who had revolted from his sovereign, and made it of considerable strength. The Great Mogul has attempted to reduce it several times, and particularly fifty years ago Aurangzeb Alamgir afterwards king, laid siege to it with an army of eighty thousand men, but the Portugueses defended it so bravely, making a terrible slaughter of the enemy with their continual sallies at night, that he was forced after lying three months before it, to march off with the loss of half his army. The occasion of it was, that the Moguls resolving to make the last effort to take it, and having to this purpose placed two hundred elephants in the front with long sharp swords in their trunks, the beasts frightened with the fire of the Portugueses muskets, ran disorderly upon the Mahometan army, cutting in pieces abundance of men, with the same weapons they were armed to destroy the Christians. The barbarians being but in a bad condition by their own contrivance; the Portugueses retiring into the town, began in scorn to throw cockle-shells, which the Mahometans abhor, into the enemy's camp, with an engine they call *papagayo*, made of pastboard

strengthened with canes, and carried up into the air by the wind and guided by a rope.

The Portugueses live very great in India, both as to their tables, clothing, and number of cafres, or slaves to serve them; having some of these to carry them in palanquins on their shoulders, and others great umbrellas of palm-tree leaves. The palanquin is like a wooden bier painted and gilt, seven spans long, and four in breadth, with two well wrought risings at both ends. On it they lay a Persian carpet, and over that a piece of Russian leather, that it may not heat their backs, and two silk pillows, on which they lie along. There are ropes, or iron rings fastened to the ends, through which they run a bamboo, or thick Indian cane, to lay on the shoulders of the blacks, two before, and two behind, all in a row or file, very few being carried by two. The person in the palanquin is covered with an umbrella of eight spans diameter, carried by a slave, or else fastened to the bamboo that crosses the palanquin, and may be turned to that side the sun is on. In rainy weather they use another sort of carriage called andora, with a covering made of palm-tree leaves, sloping like the ridge of a house, fixed upon the bamboo, there are two small windows or doors on the sides, that may be opened to see who goes along the street. The andora differs from the palanquin in nothing, but the bamboo; because the latter has a crooked one, that he who is carried may sit up, and that of the andora is straight, so that he must lie along as if he were in bed. This would be a convenient way of travelling on those soft pillows for an effeminate European, who should find fault with the jolting of the Neapolitan sedans, and would desire to travel in safety and sleep. They are generally used there by women, religious men, and all other persons, a religious men (sic.) of any note, never being seen abroad in India, but in an andora or palanquin, attended by many slaves, there being but few converts. Besides, the charge is very inconsiderable, for they that have no slaves, pay four Indians but twelve coslines of Naples a month for carrying them.

When they go out of town, or travel some days journey, they use a sort of coach drawn by oxen, guided by a cord run through their nostrils. These coaches are square like a chair,

and can hold but two, the top of it is commonly covered with silk, three of the sides open, and the back closed with canes interwoven one within another

They have no good flesh to eat in Daman, because the beef and pork is ill tasted. They seldom kill sheep or goats, and everybody cannot go to the price of fowls. Fish is also scarce, and none of the best, besides they have no oil of olives to dress it, but instead thereof make use of that of coconuts. The bread is extraordinary good, even that they make of rice. Thus a stranger at Daman, who is not entertained by somebody, has but an ill time of it, if he expects for his money to furnish himself in the market, because the gentry have all their provisions in their houses, and the meaner sort makes a shift with rice and sura, that is, palm-tree wine, scarce ever tasting bread all the year about

There is not any one sort of our European fruits, but all Indian, as coconuts, mansanas, giambos, undis, ananasas, atas, anonas, and others we shall describe in their proper place, and give the cuts of them. As for herbs there are many of the European, and of the country, among which the roots of that called casavas, being like white tartuffs, or pignuts, of the bigness and taste of a chestnut, are excellent

Daman is also very famous for all sorts of game, for besides all the European creatures of wild boars, wolves, foxes, and hares, in the mountains there are those they call baccareos, in shape like bucks, and in taste like swine; zambares, whose bodies are like oxen, and their horns, and feet like those of a stag, gazelles, which are like goats, dives like foxes, roses, with the body like a cow, so called from a rose they have on the breast, the male of the species is called meru, and has horns half a span long, and the body and tail like a horse, wolves like stags with hairy horns; European stags, black wild cats with wings like those of the bats, with which they skip and fly from one tree to another, though they be far distant; wild horses and cows. There are three sorts of tigers, called bibyo, chita, and the royal, each differing from the other in bigness of body, and variety of spots. It being their property to be continually in search of wild hoars, these taught to defend themselves by nature, tumble in the mire, and dry themselves in the

sun so often, till the mud is crusted hard on them. Being thus armed, instead of being made a prey, they often gore the tigers with their sharp tusks, for they working with their claws on the hard mud, are a long time pulling it off, and by that means give the boars time to kill them

The Portugueses have two ways of killing tigers, one is lying concealed in a ditch, near the water where they come to drink, the other going in a cart drawn gently through the wood by oxen, and thence shooting them. But they use all their endeavours to hit them on the forehead, for if the tiger falls not the first shot, it grows so enraged with the hurt, that it certainly tears the hunter in pieces.

Besides four-footed beasts, there is great plenty in the woods of peacocks, partridges of two sorts, ducks, pigeons, turtle-doves swallows, rooks, and other sorts known in Europe. They for pastime keep a sort in cages about as big as a thrush, called martinhos of the city, and of the country. The first are black and white, the latter of an ash colour, with a red breast

A man in India must be very regular in eating, or he will fall into some incurable distemper, or at least such as must be cured after the country fashion with fire, experience having shown that European medicines are of no use there. The disease they call mordazin is a complication of fever, vomiting, weakness in the limbs, and headache. It always proceeds from too much eating, and is cured by burning both the heels with a red hot spit, till the patient feels the heat of the fire. That they call bombaraki, and naricut, swells and causes a violent pain in the belly, and to cure it, fire is also applied to the swelling, so that those who have the good fortune to recover carry the signs of the fire afterwards on their belly. For this reason the physicians that go out of Portugal into those parts, must at first keep company with the Indian surgeons to be fit to practice, otherwise if they go about to cure those distempers, so far different from ours after the European manner, they may chance to kill more than they cure. For fear of these diseases on flesh days they only eat flesh at dinner, and generally fish at night.

The habit of the Portugueses that have settled their abode in India is very odd, for under their coats or vests they wear a

sort of breeches, called *candales*, the like whereof I never saw in any part of Europe, for when they are tied they leave something like the tops of boots on the leg. Others under a short doublet, wear wide silk breeches, and some have them hang down to their ankles, so that they serve for hose

The gentiles wear a long silk garment, gathered about the waist like a petticoat. It is tied with ribbons before upon the breast and under the left arm like the Persian *cabayas*, and with a girdle about the middle, under it they have long breeches down to their heels. On their shoulders hangs a piece of silk or woollen, which they wrap about their head when it is cold, the turban being but very small. Others go naked, only covering their privities with a cloth

The women have no other garment but a long piece of stuff, wherewith they cover all their body, except their legs and part of their belly. Some add a little sort of smock with half sleeves, adorning their bare arms with bracelets, and strings of glass and latten, their ears with large silver pendants, and their ankles with rings of the same metal

Wednesday 12th, I went to visit the king's factor, being much obliged to him for his civility. The same day I went with F. Constantin to old Daman for pastime. Thursday 13th, we went to take the air in a garden of the Augustinians, as well the religious men, as their guests and others, in five of the country coaches, F. Francis treated us generously. Coming home I saw them on the shore building a vessel they call *gallivat*, which was all pinned with wood, and caulked with cotton

## 2. THE AUTHORS SHORT VOYAGE TO SURAT AND RETURN TO DEMAN

HAVING a curiosity to see Surat, and it being easy to go thither; because the convoy was ready to sail for Cambay and other parts, I went on Friday 14th, to give a visit to the

commodore of the galliots that were to convoy the trading vessels, and desired him to give me my passage aboard his, which was built frigate fashion and carried twenty guns. He civilly granted it, so courteous is the Portuguese nation, and therefore having returned thanks I went home to make ready. Saturday 15th, after dinner, leaving my luggage with F. Francis to avoid all trouble of that severe custom-house, I embarked with my man aboard the commodore's galliot, and the great stream carrying us out of the harbour presently after noon, we sailed with a fair wind which continued all night.

Sunday 16th, about break of day we came in sight of the bay of Surat, that city being but sixty miles from Daman, and entering it with a fair wind, came to an anchor at Suwali, twelve miles from the city. I immediately went ashore with the commodore's nephew, where the custom-house officers searched our bags narrowly for pearls, or zecchines. Then I went to see the director of the French Company, who kept me with him.

Surat is seated in twenty degrees of latitude, and a hundred and five of longitude, at the mouth of the bay of Cambay and kingdom of Gujarat. It is not large, enclosed by a weak wall, built after it was plundered by Shivaji, or Kakaji. The castle is no better, having four towers but no ramparts, but either coming from sea or land it must be passed by to come at the city. The governor of it only commands the garrison soldiers, the city being governed by a nabob, who receives the king's taxes throughout the whole province. The private houses are built with mud mixed with cow's dung, and small brush-wood broke; there are not above a dozen good ones belonging to French, English, Dutch and Mahometan merchants. Nevertheless Surat is the prime mart of India, all nations in the world trading thither, no ship sailing the Indian Ocean, but what puts in there to buy, sell, or load, for in the port of Surat, there is a trade not only for all sorts of spice, and among them for ginger, but of very rich gold and silk stuffs, of very fine cottons and other commodities brought thither from remote parts. There are such rich merchants, that they can load any great ship out of one of their warehouses. I may say without enlarging, that all the rich silks and gold stuffs curiously wrought with birds and flowers; all the brocades,

velvets, taffetas, and other sorts made in Ahmedabad, are conveyed to Surat, which is but four days' journey from it I say those of Ahmedabad, which is the greatest city in India, and nothing inferior to Venice for this trade, though its houses are low and made of mud and bamboo; and the streets narrow, crooked, and full of dirt. But I forgot the fine muslins of Cambay, and the curiosities made in the most valuable agate that is brought into Europe

Cambay the metropolis of that kingdom was a large and rich city, whilst the Portugueses were possessed of it, Broach and Surat; for this brave nation governed it well enough, the gate being still standing that people made for its security; but after they abandoned it and retired to the sea it lost much of its splendour and magnificence; for the vessels anchor twelve miles from it, and cannot come up to the city but with the flood; which is so violent and swift that a horse can scarce outrun it. For this reason the ships often do not go up, because they must do it against wind, to check the violence of the tide that drives so impetuously.

Broach above mentioned is famous for its excellent white and stained calicoes, as also for ginger, and the best market for its commodities is at Surat ten miles distant from it. Its port is the river, which falls into the sea fifteen miles lower, up which small barks can go with the tide.

I purposely omit to mention particularly so many countries, which like rivers to the sea convey all their wealth to Surat, because of the good vent they find for it there, this being a matter well known to Europeans. But there would be a much greater resort, were its port better, and that the vessels when they have run six miles up the river, were not forced to lie at Suwali, ten miles from the city; whence and whither commodities are conveyed in small boats

Monday 17th, I saw the Church of the Capuchins which is decently adorned, and their house convenient, those good men having built it after the manner of Europe

Tuesday 18th, I went to see the tree of the gentiles, we call banyans, under which they have the pagodas of their idols, and meet to perform their ceremonies. It is of the same bigness and sort as that described at Bander-Congo; but the pagodas differ,



for under this I found four, one called of Mahamaya, which has a mighty front, two others of Dio Ram, and the fourth a retiring place for Faquirs that do penance; whereas under the tree at Bander-Congo there is but one.

Under this tree and in the neighbouring parts there are many men, who have enjoined themselves and do perform such dreadful penances, that they will seem fabulous to the reader, and impossible to be gone through without the assistance of the devil. You may see one hanging by a rope tied under his arms and to the tree, only his feet touching the ground, and the rest of his body being bowed, and this for many years without changing place or posture day or night. Others have their arms lifted up in the air, so that in process of time there grows such a stiffness or hardness in the joints that they cannot bring them down again. Some sit with their hands lifted up without ever moving them. Others stand upon one foot, and others lie along with their arms under their heads for a pillow. In short, they are in such postures, that sometimes a man can scarce believe his eyes, but fancies it is an illusion. Thus they continue naked all seasons of the year, with vast long hair, and nails grown out, exposed to the rain, and burning rays of the sun, and to be stung by flies, whom they cannot drive away. Other faquirs who take that employment supply their necessities of eating and drinking. These penitents are not ashamed to go quite naked, as they came out of their mother's wombs. The women go devoutly to kiss those parts modesty forbids us to name, and though they take them in their hands they feel not the least motion of sensuality, but they roll their eyes in a most dreadful manner without taking notice of them, as I saw one on Wednesday 19th, beset by some silly pagan women, who paid their respects to him with great humility.

Thursday 20th, a young Frenchman conducted me to see an hospital of the gentiles, where abundance of irrational creatures were kept. This they do because they believe the transmigration of souls, and therefore imagining those of their forefathers may be in the vilest, and filthiest living creatures they provide them with food. Thus the wild monkeys come to eat what is provided for them. Besides the prodigious number

of birds and beasts maintained there, particular care is taken of the lame and sick. But that which most amazed me, though I went thither to that purpose, was to see a poor wretch naked bound hands and feet, to feed the bugs or punaises, fetched out of their stinking holes to that purpose. The best of it is that any man should voluntarily expose himself to be so devoured, for a small reward given him, according to the hours he will continue under it.

Friday 21st, going home, after walking about a while, I saw abundance of people got together before a pagan merchant's shop, and in the midst of them a juggling fellow with a hen in one hand and a knife in the other. Inquiring into the meaning of it, they told me, that man was a rogue, who when he had a mind to get money, carried that hen through the streets where the gentiles lived, threatening to kill it, that they might give him money to save its life, each of them believing the soul of some of his kindred might be in that hen. In short, I saw him receive some money, and go on still threatening the same.

Saturday 22nd, all the vessels from Diu, Cambay, Broach and other places being come together to sail for Goa and other dominions of Portugal, and the galliots being ready to convoy them, I again went aboard the same that brought me. Sailing out of the mouth of the river with a fair wind we got into the open sea, and after lying by two hours for the small vessels to go ahead of us, we held on our course gently all night.

Sunday 23rd, at break of day we found ourselves many miles from Daman and too late to hear Mass. The galliots came to an anchor after noon without the mouth of the river, some small barks going up it. I found F. Francis expected me with impatience, who received me with expressions of great affection.

Monday 24th, I took leave of friends that had been kind to me, there being an opportunity to embark for Bassein.

### 3. THE AUTHOR'S SHORT VOYAGE TO BASSEIN AND DESCRIPTION OF THAT CITY

HAVING long since resolved to see Goa, on Tuesday 25th, I caused my baggage to be carried down to the shore by boes, so they call porters in India, and thence into a vessel at Diu that carried oars, lying without the river, as the Fathers Francis, and Constantin had done. Having with them taken leave with thanks of the prior and religious of the monastery, we went down to the shore, and thence in a boat to the Navillo, which was a long boat of the king's, with six oars and a square sail in the middle, having one falconet aboard, and seventeen Portuguese and Canarine soldiers. At ebb, which fell out when the moon was vertical, we set forwards with the help of a small gale, and of the tide that set towards Bassein, for from the time the moon first appears above the horizon till she comes to the mid-heaven the flood runs towards Surat, and when the moon goes down, towards Bassein

Wednesday 26th, at break of day we were off the town and fort of Tarapur, a place well inhabited, with monasteries of Dominicans and Recollects. Ten miles from this the Portuguese have another impregnable castle called Asheri; for besides its being seated on the top of the hill, where there is no other ground to command it, a crooked path cut out of the mountain, along which two men cannot go abreast, leads up to it, and is defended by several guards, who may withstand an army only rolling down the stones placed there to that purpose.

The wind continuing fair we sailed by the fort and village of Mahim, and several other towers and dwellings, and then by the little island De-la Vaca, or of the cow, three miles in compass, and not far distant from Bassein. Much time being lost waiting for the barks, and parancos that came under convoy and were mere slugs, we could not reach Bassein after seventy miles sail till midnight. We came to an anchor before the channel formed by the small island and the continent, for fear of running aground in the dark, and Thursday 27th, went in with the flood.

There being no houses of entertainment in the city, we were received by F. Felicianus of the nativity, born at Macao in the kingdom of China, and prior of the monastery of the Augustinians, who treated us all very courteously and like a true Portuguese.

Bassaein a city in the kingdom of Cambay is seated in 19 deg of latitude, and 104 of longitude Nuno de Acuna in the year 1535 took it for King John of Portugal, from Bahadur Shah king of Cambay, who terrified by the valour of the Portuguese nation, surrendered it to them with the neighbouring islands, whilst Martin Alfonso de Sousa, undauntedly attacked and took Daman and its fortress, cutting in pieces all the Turkish garrison, and afterwards levelling the castle with the ground in 3 days. The compass of Bassein is 3 miles, and has eight bastions, not all quite finished On them I saw some pieces of cannon, with the arms of Philip the 4th, of happy memory king of Spain On the north side the walls are rampard, and the other fortifications are not yet finished, on the south side towards the channel, there is only a single wall, that place being less exposed to the danger of enemies, and sufficiently defended by the ebb and flood One third of the city towards the north is unpeopled, by reason of the plague which some years rages in it The streets are wide and straight, and the great square or market has good buildings about it. There are two principal gates, one on the east and the other on the west, and a small one towards the channel or streight. The harbour is on the east side, formed as was said, by the island and continent.

The government is in a captain, as they call him, or governor, and the administration of justice in a veedor, and the desembargador, who is a Gown man, and judge of appeals from all the veedors of the northern coast, along which in every city there are factors and treasurers for the revenue of the crown of Portugal The Portuguese general resides at Bassein, with sovereign authority over the captain of that and all the other northern places, whence he is called general of the north.

Friday 28th, I walked about the city with the Fathers, but saw nothing so extraordinary, as I did on Saturday 29th, which was a pagan born in India, who had an infant sticking

fast to his navel, with all his limbs, perfect except the head, which was in the man's belly, and made its excrements apart like every other perfect creature. Whether the man or infant was struck, they both felt the pain.

Sunday 30th, mass was sung at the Augustinians with music, which being in India was not disagreeable, and much gentry was there. The heat was greater than at Daman; so that as well women as men went about the streets naked; the men covering their privities with a cloth, and the women their bodies and thighs with a piece of linen. The people of fashion at that time wear silk and very thin muslins, having long breeches down to their heels so that they need no stockings. Instead of shoes they wear sandals like the Fryars.

All the gentiles bore their noses to put rings through, as they do to the buffaloes in Italy. Every beggar, much more those that are well to pass, rubs his teeth every morning betimes with a stick, and spends two hours at that work, according to the custom of the country. They use no quilts because of the heat, but lay blankets and sheets on the bed, made of cords without boards, as is used by the Persians of Lar and Bander-Congo.

Monday the last of the month, I went with F. Peter of the Martyrs to the village of Bhadrapur, to see some vagabond Moors, who vaulted and performed feats of activity like our tumblers and rope-dancers. The most wonderful thing was to see a man who turned round upon a cane, held up by another on his girdle; and what most amazed me was that he who supported the cane went on without putting his hands to guide it, and he that was on the top of it did not help himself with his hands neither, and yet the cane or bamboo was thirty spans high. At last after giving two skips in the air he lighted on a very high beam, fixed to that purpose, I know not how he could do all this without some supernatural assistance.

Tuesday the first of February, a messenger from the nabob, or governor of Surat came in a palanquin with thirty soldiers, to treat about some business with the governor, and deliver him two letters.

Wednesday 2nd, I went in an andora of the monastery to see the Cassabo, which is the only diversion at Bassein: nothing appearing for fifteen miles but delightful gardens, planted

with several sorts of the country fruit trees, as palm, fig, mangoes, and others, and abundance of sugarcanes. The soil is cultivated by Christian, Mahometan, and pagan peasants, inhabiting the villages thereabouts. They keep the gardens always green and fruitful, by watering them with certain engines; so that the gentry allured by the cool and delightful walks, all have their pleasure houses at Cassabo, to go thither in the hottest weather to take the air, and get away from the contagious and pestilential disease called *carazzo*, that uses to infect all the cities of the northern coast. It is exactly like a bubo, and so violent that it not only takes away all means of preparing for a good end, but in a few hours depopulates whole cities, as witness, Surat, Daman, Bassein, Thana and other places, which often suffer under this calamity.

In this territory of Cassabo I saw the sugarcanes pressed between two great wooden rollers, turned about by oxen, whence they came out thoroughly squeezed. Then the juice is boiled in cauldrons, and being set out to cool at night in earthen vessels it hardens into white sugar.

Thursday 3rd, I went to visit the image of our Lady De los Remedios, standing in a parish church belonging to the Dominicans, on the road to Cassabo. About five years since this church was burnt by Kakaji, a gentile subject to the Great Mogul, who with a great multitude of outlaws, and four thousand soldiers, went about like a rover, plundering and burning villages. Thence I went to see another miraculous image of our Lady da Merce, in a small church founded and served by an Augustinian who did the office of curate.

Friday 4th, I saw the church of the Jesuits, in India called Paulistes. It is richly gilt, not only the three chapels, but the walls and arch; but the workmen knew not how to make that rich metal show itself to the best advantage. The dormitory and cloister are the best in the city. In the garden, besides the Indian, there are some sort of European fruit, and among the rest figs and grapes, which the F. Rector told me came to maturity twice a year, that is, in December and March.

Saturday 5th, I visited the monastery of the Dominicans, with the famous dormitory. The church was large and had but three altars, as we said was used in India, opposite to the great gate, and all well adorned.

Sunday 6th, I heard Mass in the church of the *Misericordia*, which is the parish of the city; and continuing to visit churches came on Monday 7th to that of the Franciscans. Both church and monastery are built after the manner of Europe, the church having many chapels, contrary to the custom of India

Tuesday 8th, I heard Mass in the parish of our Lady de la Vida, where there are three very good altars well adorned. The monastery of the Fathers, Hospitallers, or S. John de Dios, where I was on Monday 9th, is so poor that it can maintain but three fryars.

Thursday 10th, understanding there was a wedding of people of quality at the church of our Lady de la Vida, I went to see the ceremony. I observed the bridegroom did not give his bride the right hand, and thinking it an extravagant custom, as being only used by crowned heads, I asked the reason of it of some Portugueses; who told me the same was practised in Portugal, and this that the gentlemen might have his right hand at liberty, to put to his sword in defence of the Lady. The bride was richly clad, after the French fashion; but some trumpets went along, sounding such a doleful tone, as little differed from that they use in conducting criminals to execution. I returned to the monastery in the andora, and here it is to be observed that the manner of saluting those they meet, when they are carried in this sort of conveniency, in Italy would be taken for an affront, and laughed at; for in token of respect they shut to the little door of the andora upon them. This in Naples would certainly produce a duel, and in India is done out of respect even to the viceroy himself

Friday 11th, I heard Mass in the parish church of our Lady da Se, where there are several altars, and two chapels.

There are no doctors of the civil law throughout the Portuguese dominions in India, and those few Canarins, who follow this employment, through their ignorance prove bad advocates, or councillors, and solicitors, and sometimes plead both for plaintiff and defendant. Besides, for the most part causes are decided by ignorant captains or governors without the approbation of an assessor. This happens for want of an university and colleges to teach the law; and because the Portuguese doctors will not go so far from their country, by reason of the little

profit they should make in India F Felicianus the prior understanding that I was a doctor of the civil law, on Saturday 12th, proposed a match to me with a portion of 20,000 pieces of eight, and with a promise that I should be advocate to the monasteries, and to some families of note, which would yield about 600 pieces of eight a year Having no inclination to live in those hot countries, I answered, that though he had offered me 100,000 pieces of eight portion, I should never be induced to quit Europe for ever

#### 4. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PAGODA IN THE ISLAND OF SALSETE BY THE PORTUGUESE CALLED THE CANARIN

THE pagoda or temple of the Canarin, whereof I intended to give an exact and true account, is one of the greatest wonders in Asia, as well because it is looked upon as the work of Alexander the Great, as for its extraordinary and incomparable workmanship, which certainly could be undertaken by none but Alexander What I most admire is that it is almost unknown to Europeans, for though I have made much enquiry, I do not find that any Italian, or other European traveller has writ of it, and it is very strange to me that so ingenuous a man as our Peter de la Valle should omit to see both this pagoda, and the palace of Darius, with the antiquities of Chehil Minar, that were but a few leagues out of his way, since he travelled for his pleasure, and made nothing of spending thousands of crowns to satisfy his curiosity Though a poor man I spared no cost or labour, that I might see all and inform the public As for Tavernier, it is no wonder he minded not to see these things, because his principal end was trade, and buying of jewels, and therefore he only went to those places where his business lay, and he could make most profit, and though he made several voyages to India, he minded not to see antiquities though he passed close by them

I had a mind to go to Thana, and pass over from thence to the pagoda, but the Fathers Visitor and Prior dissuaded me,



saying, it was better going by Deins. Accordingly Sunday 13th, hiring a boat I went over to the village of Ghodbandar, in the island Salsette. The houses are scattered on both sides of the mountains, on the top whereof is the palace of the lord of the village. I went thence upon the streight to the village of Deins, belonging to the nuns of S Monica at Goa, 6 miles distant from Bassein. F. Edward an Augustinian Procurator to those nuns, received me into his house on account of a letter of recommendation I had from the F. Visitor.

Being hot and dry, F Edward brought out two citron peels preserved; and I without considering eat one and drank a great glass of water; but he afterwards offering me the other, I called to mind, I had swallowed down some hundreds of pismires, which covered the said peels and perhaps dislodged the souls of so many dead idolaters residing in those little bodies. I therefore refused the other with thanks, desiring him to keep that sweetmeat, which was as old as the village, to treat some other guest; because I would not upon any account be guilty again of such a slaughter of ants. After this poor refreshment I went to the village of Mandapeshwar, a mile distant, to see a church under ground, formerly a pagoda cut in the rock, on which stands the college and monastery of the Franciscans. It is a 100 spans long, and in breadth thirty. The side walls, as has been said are of the natural rock, and only the front is made by art. Close by is another pagoda cut in the rock, formerly serving for their idolatrous worship.

The church and monastery are like all the rest in India. Five religious men live there, to whom the king of Portugal allows 200 mura of rice, all which they give to the poor, except only as much as serves for their own sustenance. One of these Fathers does the office of a curate, in the village of Cashi, two miles distant, and has a good dwelling there. On the mountain near the said college is another hermitage, with a chapel.

Returning to Deins, F. Edward told me, that though he had used all his endeavours he could not find men to carry me in an andora, for his people were fled, and there were no others at Mandapeshwar, by which perceiving that the Father was an exception of the general civility of the Portuguese, I was forced to take up with an ill house.

Monday 14th, the owner who was a pagan, brought me the horse very late, because none of them goes out of his house, till he has performed his idolatrous ceremonies, and thinking to take some little meat before I set out, good sparing F Edward told me the bread was not come yet, and I answering I would send to buy some, he replied it was not yet baked, and I might dine in a village half way Desiring him further to appoint some peasant to show me the pagoda, because the gentile knew not the way well, he would neither send a countryman, nor one of his servants, whereupon I set out in danger of losing my way for want of a guide, travelling on a mountain full of monkeys, tigers, lions, and other wild beasts and venomous creatures Coming to the village, where I designed to eat, I found nothing but a little rice half boiled in fair water, the place consisting of only four cottages in the thickest of the wood, so that I went on fasting By the way I met strange birds. Some were green and as big as a thrush, and sang very well, others bigger, black as velvet, and with vast long tails; others red and green, some black and green, as big as a turtle dove, and many more never seen in Europe, there were also an innumerable company of parrots, and monkeys, and apes, with very long tails leaping from tree to tree.

After riding eight miles through the thick wood, we knew not where the pagoda was, or what way to take to find it. It pleased Providence, we happened to meet with some naked pagan women, carrying loads of wood, who put us into the road. Being come to the foot of the rock, I was worse puzzled for want of somebody to hold my horse, the idolater being to guide me through the labyrinth of so many pagodas. At last I found a peasant wandering about the mountain, and giving him the horse to hold, I climbed the bare craggy rock with the idolater, at the top whereof on the east side the great pagoda is hewn out, with other small ones by it

The first piece of workmanship that appears, consists of two large columns, 2 spans high, the third part of them from the bottom upwards is square, the middle part octangular, and the top round. Their diameter is six spans, they are fifteen spans distant from one another, and each of them eight from the rock, which is cut after the same manner These columns support a stone architrave forty-four spans long, four in thickness and

eight in breadth; cut like the rest out of the same rock. These 3 porticos lead into a sort of hall or passage room, four spans long, cut in the same rock. At the end of it are three doors, one fifteen spans high, and eight in breadth, which is the middlemost, and two others four spans square on the sides, which are the way into a lower place. Over these doors is a cornish four spans broad, of the same stone; over which thirty spans above the ground, there are other such doors, or windows cut in the rock. At the same height, there are little grotts, or dens, six spans high, of which the middlemost is the biggest. Thirty-four spans above the ground, in the same place is such another grot. It is no easy matter to conceive what the use of all this was.

Advancing ten paces towards the right, I saw a sort of grot, open on two sides, twenty-four spans in length, and fifteen in breadth, over which was a round cupola fifteen spans high, and ten wide, with a square cornish, like that about the grot. Here there is an idol cut in the rock, in half relieve, which seems to hold something in its hand, but what it is does not appear. The cup it has on, is like that of the Doge of Venice. By it stand two statues in a submissive posture, as if they were servants. They have conical, or sugar-loaf caps on. Over their heads are two small figures, like the angels we paint in the air; below two little statues, holding their hands on a staff, and two children by their sides, with their hands put together, as if they prayed; on their backs is something like a piece of wood. Close by is another round cupola all of one stone, and shaped like the other, but the top of it is broke. Both this and the other are supposed to have been sepulchres of the ancient gentiles; but there is no ground to make this out, no opening appearing to put in the bodies or ashes; but on the contrary it is visible they are not hollow within, but only cut without, in the shape of cupolas. About this second, there are 4 great figures carved in half relief, holding in the left hand something like a garment, and the same sort of caps on their heads, with small figures at their feet, and 2 above. Opposite to them, there are three little ones sitting, and 6 other large ones, and 3 of a middling size standing, all cut in the rock after the same manner: But that in the middle, which seems to be the idol, in its left holds a

sitting with both hands on their breasts, and the same caps, one of them seems to be superior to the rest, because there are two figures standing by its side, and two children above.

At a small distance northward is a little grot eight spans square, and in it, as it were a bed of the same, stone, four spans broad, and eight long. On the other frontispiece is a statue sitting on its legs, after the manner of the East, with the hands together on the breast; and another standing with the branch of a fruit-tree in its hand, and above a winged infant.

Beyond the grot, and on the same front, which runs sixty spans within the rock, there are two statues sitting after the same manner, their hands placed the same way, with conical caps on their heads, and two like servants standing by them.

On the same side is the famous Pagoda of the Canarin. The entrance to it is through an opening forty spans long, in a wall of the same stone, fifty spans long, and eight spans thick, on which there are three statues. On the right hand before you go into the pagoda, is a round grot, above fifty spans about, in which round the wall, there are many statues sitting, and some standing, and one on the left, is bigger than the rest. In the middle rises a round cupola, cut out of the same rock, like a pillar of the same stone, with several characters carved about it, which no man can ever explain. Going into the first porch of the pagoda, which is 50 spans square, there are on the sides two columns 60 spans high, with their capitals, and six spans diameter. On that upon the right hand coming in, there are two lions, with a shield by them, on the other upon the left two statues. Beyond these columns at the entrance of a grot, on the left there are two great statues standing, and looking at one another. Still further in are 2 vast big statues on the left, and one on the right of the door, all standing, with several little statues by them, only within the space of that porch, for going into the adjoining grot, which is 24 spans square, there is nothing worth observing. On the right hand, where the lions are, there are no statues, but two large vessels upon convenient pedestals.

Hence there are three equal doors thirty spans high, and eight broad, but that in the middle even with the floor, those on the sides five spans above it, into another plain place. Here

there are four columns twelve spans high, standing on the rock itself, between the five windows that give light to the pagoda. On the right side of the door there are some unknown letters worn with age, as is all the rest of the work. In this place on the sides, besides several small figures, there are two vast statues of giants standing, above twenty-five spans high, showing their right hands open, and holding a garment in the left, on their heads the same caps, and in their ears pendants after the Indian fashion.

At the entrance of the great gate of the pagoda, which is fifteen spans high, and ten in breadth, there are on the right four statues standing, one of which is a woman holding a flower in her hand; and twelve other less, some sitting and some standing, with their hands on their breasts, and something in them. On the left are four other statues, two whereof are women, with large rings about their ankles of the same stone, and sixteen little statues on their sides, some sitting, some standing, and some with their hands on their breasts, as was said before. Over the said door there are other two great ones, and as many opposite to them, with three little ones standing. On the left hand within is another inscription in the same character. Over the arch of this door is a window forty spans wide, which is the width of the pagoda, with a stone like an architrave in the middle, supported on the inside by two octangular pillars.

The pagoda is arched, forty spans in breadth, and one hundred in length, and rounded at the end, besides the four columns at the entrance, there are thirty more within, which divide it into three isles; seventeen of them have capitals, and figures of elephants on them, the rest are octangular and plain. The space between the columns and the rock, that is, the breadth of the side isles is six spans. At the end of the pagoda, there is a sort of round cupola, thirty spans high, and sixteen of my paces about, cut in the same rock, but not hollow within. I believe it served for some use, which we being ignorant of the ancient customs of those times cannot guess at. I know not what judgment Portuguese authors make of it, because their books are scarce at Naples, but they it is certain are well acquainted with it, the viceroys themselves sometimes coming from Goa to see it; yet it is most likely they could never discover the truth.

All that has been hitherto described is cut in the very rock, without any addition to the statues, or anything that may be parted. But on the floor of the pagoda there are several hewed stones, which perhaps served for steps to some structure

Coming out of the pagoda, and ascending fifteen steps, all cut in the rock, I found two cisterns of rain-water, good to drink, and as many steps above that, a grot sixteen spans square, and a great one further on with much water standing in it. Mounting twenty spaces higher, I found another grot twenty spans square, which led to another of the same dimensions, and that into one of twelve. In the first was a rising window with steps to it cut in the rock, with two columns near a small cistern

At a small distance from these grots is another pagoda, with a handsome plain place before it, and little walls about to sit down, and a cistern in the middle. Five doors cut in the rock lead into the first arch, and between them are four octangular pillars, all but the middle door are two spans above the ground. On the sides of this arch, whose length is the breadth of the pagoda, that is, eight spans, there are on the left several statues sitting, like those above mentioned, and others on the right standing. All about the frontispiece there are many sitting and standing, no way different from the rest already described. Then there are three doors to the pagoda, that in the middle twelve spans high, and six in breadth, the two on the sides ten spans high, and four broad. The pagoda is sixty spans square, no way proportionable, being but twelve spans high. On both the sides, and over the entrance there are above 400 figures great and small carved, some sitting, some standing, like those before spoke of, but two on the right bigger than the rest are standing, as is that in the middle of the frontispiece, which is of the biggest idol, and another on the left in the same posture, but all worn with age, which destroys everything. On both sides there are two grots fourteen spans square, with a low wall within two spans above the ground.

Going up ten steps further northward is a grot, and within that another less. On the right is another like it, with another little on within it, in which is a low wall like those before mentioned. The great one is about twenty spans in length, and ten in breadth, the other ten square, and all of them with small cisterns. On the right side is another of the same higness, with

two small pillars before it, two little grotts, and three cisterns, one on the right, and two on the left; and another adjoining to it, with another within it, and a cistern of the same dimensions of the other. It is likely these were the dwellings of the priests of the pagoda, who there led a penitential life, as it were in a pagan Thebaida.

Descending from that great height, fifteen steps cut in the rock, there is a little pagoda, with a porch before it thirty foot square, which leads into it through three doors, between which there are two square pilasters. On the left hand there are four statues, two sitting, and two less in the middle standing. On the right hand a little open grot, and another pagoda, with a cistern before it, the way into which is first, through a door ten spans in height, and six in breadth, into a room twenty spans square, which has on the right another very dark room twelve spans square, which makes the pagoda somewhat dark. In the midst whereof is a round cupola of one solid piece, fifteen spans high, which is the height of the pagoda. Descending fifty upright steps, there is a plain space cut in the rock, which is not very hard, and eight octangular columns twelve spans high, which leave nine intervals to ascend five steps that lead into an arch. In this place on the left side, which is ten spans, is a great idol sitting bareheaded, two other great statues standing, and some small ones, on the right side two other statues sitting, and two standing, besides many little ones about them. Then the way into the pagoda is through three doors, twelve spans in height, and six in breadth with two windows over them. The pagoda is 100 spans in length, fifty in breadth, and ten in height. About it runs an arch eight spans broad, with ten square columns. Here are four rooms, or grotts, twelve foot square, besides seven in the front, and left side of the pagoda, where the cistern is, all which I supposed to be rooms for the priests of the temple. In the niche of it, which is ten foot square, is a great idol sitting, with two statues standing, and another sitting on the left, by which also there are two statues standing, and several small figures in half relief about it. Ascending ten spans over against it is a little grot, supported by two small columns, ten spans high. There is a door ten spans high, and four in breadth out of it into a room, or grot

sixteen spans square, and thence into another of twelve, where there is a large idol sitting, holding his hands on his breast

Then descending twenty steps there is a plain space, whence four steps on the left lead up into an arch, where there are four pilasters twelve spans high, the distances between which are the way into three little rooms cut in the rock. Twenty steps lower there are other grotts cut in the rock, with small cisterns, but for what use cannot be imagined unless we suppose all these cavities were dwellings of the idolaters. It is only reported, that this wonderful work was made with a vast expense, by Alexander the Great, who was of the same religion.

Descending from the high rock, I mounted a horse-back, with a good stomach, having fasted that day against my will, and made haste away to satisfy hunger. By the way I saw abundance of monkeys, and apes, and being about to kill one, the pagan prayed me not to hurt them. Near the road were two palm-trees, rising out of the trunk of one great tree five spans, and spreading abroad their fruitful branches

Near the village of Canarin, which gives its name to the pagoda here described, is a rock 100 paces about, with several grotts and cisterns under it, which might formerly be dwellings; the antient gentiles affecting to have their habitations in rocks, to save the expense of materials in building. On the east side before the largest grot is a great idol sitting, with his hands across on his legs.

Returning to Deins, I met F. Edward of St Antony walking. He instead of getting me something to eat, began to discourse after an odd manner; inquiring concerning particulars of the pagoda; but I left him to prate by himself, telling him it was not time to talk upon an empty belly. Alighting, and going up to my chamber, the first thing I said to the servant of the house, was to ask him, whether there was anything to eat. He told me there was none, and bidding him go fetch me a little bread at least, he set before me a small loaf, with the same citron peels covered with pismires, these vermin leaving nothing untouched in India, for which reason the Indians, to save some preserves, set them under a table, whose feet are in wooden bowls full of water, to keep them off. I made but two mouthfuls of the bread; yet had not the courage to do so by



they have more revenues in India, than the king of Portugal.

From Bassein to Thana, and from Thana to Bombay runs a channel of salt water, in some places half a mile over, in others more or less; and because near Goadel, it runs through the midst of a rock, the Portugueses generally say, that Alexander the Great, coming, as some will have it, several times to Bassein, caused the rock to be cut through to give a passage to the water, and that it was he who had the neighbouring pagoda of the Elephanta cut out of the solid rock.

Tuesday 15th, as soon as ever day began to appear I set out. Coming to Ghodbandar, I found no boat to carry me over to Bassein, and going further, I saw one setting out; therefore running down to the shore, I made signs to the Moors and gentiles in it to come back, and take me aboard, which they refusing, rather than be left to endure more hardship on the shore, I made use of the Portuguese authority, making as if I would fire at them with my gun, which they perceiving, came about to take me up. I went over to Bassein, and being asked by the Father's visitor, and prior how F. Edward had treated me, I answered their recommendation had but an ill effect; and they desiring to hear all particulars, I took out my pocket book, and read to them all that has been here said concerning F. Edward's ill usage. The Fathers laughed heartily, but were inwardly much displeased that his extravagant behaviour should blemish the reputation of the Portuguese civility.

Wednesday 16th, the Count de Villa Verde, viceroy of India, sailing by with four great ships, and ten small ones towards Diu, visiting the northern coast, the city saluted him with all its cannon. He answered with seven guns, and the city again fired round. By the way he had gained a victory over the Arabs of Muscat, after this manner. These barbarians discovering the Portuguese ships, stranded three of their vessels in the bay and river of Sangameshwar, being in the territory of Shivaji, and carrying off in the night what was most valuable in two of them, fortified the third, planting cannon on the shore to defend it. The Portugueses could not attack them on the same day, because it was late; but the next morning, being the 25th of January, fell on, and whilst the fire set to them by the Arabs themselves burned the other two vessels, they run in with eight long-boats

full of men, because the great ships could not come up, and after a long fight, and much blood spilt in the attack of the third vessel, and Arabs on the shore, they boarded, and made themselves masters of her, cutting in pieces some hundred of barbarians. They took in her 14,000 rupees, and thirty pieces of cannon. Only four Portugueses were killed in the action, and twenty wounded, and so great a number of the enemy, that the river and shore were all dyed with their blood.

The return of some small vessels that went to carry refreshments to the viceroy, brought us certain intelligence of the murder of Antony Machado de Brito, admiral of the Portuguese fleet, which happened on the 30th of December, 1694, after he had behaved himself with unparalleled bravery against his enemies. His sharp tongue had gained him the ill will of almost all the gentry of Goa, and along the coast, but more particularly of the family of Melo, which was powerful in kindred, and great by birth. His affronts becoming insupportable, they conspired to the number of fifty to murder him, and having agreed on the time, place, and manner of executing their design, they made several loopholes in the houses of the quarter and parish of St. Peter, that they might shoot him with more safety. The general, or rather admiral persuading himself, that gentlemen could not harbour thoughts of taking an ungenerous revenge, though warned to be upon his guard, because there were treacherous practices against him, would never admit any soldiers to attend him, and particularly two captains that were willing to share in his dangers. Thus being carried in a palanquin alone, only with one black that carried his umbrella, a shot was made at him from a house, which giving him a slight wound, he leaped out of the palanquin, and taking the snuff he held betwixt his fingers, said, Who is it you aim at? Tristan de Melo at these words, coming out of his house, answered, At you, and fired a blunderbus upon him. He with an undaunted courage fended it with his cloak, and bowing his body, then drawing his sword, and falling on his enemy, he struck him five times, but to no purpose, because he had on a coat of mail; whereupon he cleft his head, and with a back stroke cut him over the face, which made him fall. Then taking him by the hair, he set his feet on him, and was going to run

his sword into his breast, but Tristan begging his life, he generously granted it, saying he would not imbrew his hands in such base blood. In the meanwhile, out came Tristan's son, and a mulatto (so they call those that are got between blacks and whites) and firing two blunderbuses, lodged several bullets in the admiral's breast, breaking in pieces the cross he wore as a badge of knighthood, but still he stood, and defended himself, when a slave came up, and run him into the side with a javelin. Nor did he go unpunished, for the general with a back stroke ripped open his belly, whereof he died at night. Machado being ready to expire, drew near to the palanquin, and setting his peruke to rights the best he could, laid himself in it. The murderers fearing he might yet live, one of them who was a priest, came with a blunderbus in his hand to make an end of him, but seeing him ready to breath out his soul, asked whether he would make his confession. The admiral called him Jew, and bid him go about his business. Afterwards a Dominican coming to him, he gave signs of repentance, and grasping his hands, died with these words, The Blood of Christ save me. They found in his breast about 30 bullets, whereupon people admiring his valour, said, he must need have more vital spirits than other mortals, since there must go so much to the killing of him. The soldiers of the fleet, who were most of them aboard, hearing so many shot, and afterwards that their admiral was killed, ran to the place, and had taken just revenge upon Tristan de Melo, who was carrying by two blacks to the archbishops, had not a judge stopped them to gain time for Tristan to escape, cried out to them, in the king's name to stand. This happened, because the admiral's ill tongue, as was said, had gained him many enemies. However, the judge was imprisoned some time after. Machado was generally lamented, and particularly by me, who having travelled with him, in 1689, from Madrid to Genoa, and received many civilities from him, expected still greater in India. He was the terror of the Moors and Arabs, and kept in awe several thousands of vagabond soldiers, who having rebelled in the Mogul's dominions, threatened to plunder the Portuguese dominions. He gained many victories over the fleet of the Arabs of Muscat, and the most considerable of them was in the bay of Surat,

in April 1694, when with only three ships he fought fourteen Arabs a whole day, and not so satisfied cast anchor at night, to renew the battle the next day, but found the Arabs had stole away, with the loss of some hundreds of men, and several of their ships disabled. Several boats full of French, English and Dutch, went out to sea to see this fight, because it happened opposite to Daman.

Thursday 17th, we went with F. Francis, to divert us out of town, and on Friday 18th, I saw a good procession in Bassein, and heard a sermon in our church.

## 5. THE AUTHOR'S VOYAGE TO GOA

SATURDAY 19th, the convoy being ready to sail, I caused my baggage to be put aboard a vessel of war they there call a manehua, aboard which, Nuno d' Acuna, the captain of it very civilly gave me my passage. Sunday 20th, I heard Mass, and a sermon in the Jesuits church, and then went with the procession of the *Holy Cross* that was going to the Church of St. Augustin, whence it set out the day before. Monday 21st, the fleet sailed an hour before day. It consisted of thirty-six pangaras, two galliots which were admiral and vice admiral, and four manehuas of war. These manehuas had such a main sail as the leutis of Trapani, in the kingdom of Sicily, 12 oars, and four small guns, with fifteen Portuguese soldiers, the aforesaid Captain Nuno's company being distributed aboard them. The north, or northwest wind prevails almost all the year in those seas, so that it being seldom fair for Goa, we made but little way. After eighteen miles sailing, we passed by the island and fort of Bombay, seated on the point of the island of Salsette, being about nine miles in length, and little less in breadth. Nine miles further, I saw another small island, or rock as big as Nisida, at Naples, and on it a fort, with some dwellings of Shivaji, who being at war with the Great Mogul, are continually in action against the Sidi, and garrison of the

fort on the continent. This Sidi is a black subject to the Great Mogul, who, has given him the government of the country between Bombay and Chaul, to defend it against the invasions of Shivaji, for which purpose he maintains 2,000 horse and foot at his own cost. These two forts in the island, and on the continent are called Underi, and Khanderi.

Tuesday 22nd, after sailing nine miles further, we anchored opposite to the city and fortress of Chaul. It is seated on a plain, six miles from the sea, on the bank of a river, which at flood will carry any ships up to the city. It is enclosed with good walls, and other works, and furnished with excellent cannon. A fort called El Morro, secures the entrance of the harbour, being built by the Portuguese, in the year 1520, on the hill by their General Sequeira, with leave of the tyrant Nizam-ul-Mulk; who granted it upon condition they should bring him over three hundred horses at reasonable rates out of Persia, or Arabia, because of the scarcity of them there was in India, to serve him in his wars against Adil Khan Malik Ayaz Sultani, governor of Diu, hearing what the Portuguese were doing, sent fifty sail to obstruct the building of the fort, which Sequeira by his industry had already made tenable. The fleets had several engagements, but always with loss to the Turks, so that at last they went back disabled. Afterwards the Portuguese made themselves masters of the city with ease. Its territory does not extend above six miles in length; on the south it borders on Shivaji, and on the north with another fort belonging to the Sidi

Wednesday 23rd, it was late before we sailed, waiting for some vessels of Chaul; and the wind failing, made but little way. The calm continued Thursday 24th, and we were obliged to lie close by the coast of Shivaji, who is a mortal enemy to the Portuguese. This Shivaji, whom his subjects call raja, which signifies petty king, is so powerful, that he maintains war at one and the same time with the Great Mogul, and the Portugueses. He brings into the field 50,000 horse, and as many, or more foot, much better soldiers than the Mogul's; for they live a day upon a piece of dry bread, and the Moguls will march at their ease, carrying their women, abundance of provisions, and tents, so that their army looks like a moving city. The raja, as to his

religion is an idolater, as are most of his subjects. All the coast from Chaul to Goa, for the space of 250 miles belongs to him, and from thence to Bijapur, he has several forts, most of them among inaccessible mountains, besides cities and towns, defended both by art and nature.

This prince's dominion is but of a late date, for it began in Shivaji's father, to whom succeeded Shambhaji, his eldest son, who was afterwards killed in battle by the Great Mogul's general, and so Ramrao now reigning, ascended the throne. Shivaji first raised his fortune by serving under the king of Golconda, then having gathered vast wealth, and scouring the country with a great number of men like an outlaw, he seized some places belonging to the king of Bijapur, and fortifying themselves in them among the mountains, at length gathered a mighty army, then making war on the Mogul, the Portugueses, and other princes his neighbours, he usurped all he now stands possessed of. They say he was born in Thana, a subject of the king of Portugal, and kept shop there. But Ramrao pretends he is descended from Rajputs, and endeavours daily to enlarge his dominions, along the coast of Underi, and Khanderi, as far as the bay of Galas, besides what he has up the land. His subjects are robbers both by sea and land, that being the pay he allows them, and make it dangerous sailing along that coast, so that it is not to be done without a good convoy, for being to pass by their forts, they run out in small boats well manned, and rob friends and foes, because, as has been said, their king gives them leave. Nor is the voyage safe on account of the Malabars.

These are pirates of several nations, as Moors, gentiles, Jews, and Christians, and fall upon all they meet with a great number of boats full of men. Their large country reaches from Mount Delly, (bordering on the kingdom of Canara, ever governed by a queen, and never by a man) to Madrastapatan, a considerable city and fort. They live under several monarchs, among which the most powerful is the emperor Zamorin, and the kings of Tanur Porakad, and others. These people take poor passengers, and lest they should have swallowed their gold, though they have no need of it, give them a potion, which makes them digest all they have in their bodies, which done, they search the

stinking excrements to find the precious metal. I was very much afraid of the Malabar receipt, having never taken any purge, and therefore thought best to expect the convoy.

About sunset, the north-west wind freshened, and brought us in sight of Dabul. This city is seated six miles from the sea, after the same manner as Chaul, and eight miles from it; both in the kingdom of Deccan. The Portugueses took it under their General Almeida, from Adil Khan, who reigned at Goa, in the year 1508, burning the city, and putting the Turkish garrison to the sword. Now it is subject to Shivaji

Friday 25th, the same wind continuing, we came in sight of the fort of Bijapur, in which river the viceroy burnt the three Arab vessels before mentioned. Then we passed by Lambuna, and the fort of Malvan belonging to Shivaji, and after midnight the Ilheos Queimados, which are three rocks, 36 miles from Goa.

The wind freshening all night, on Saturday 26th, at break of day, we came to an anchor in our port, having sailed 280 miles from Chaul. Having put my baggage into a boat called a baloon, to carry it up the channel to Goa, I met two baloons of the custom-house coming to visit that I was in, but having been forewarned to write a superscription upon one of my parcels for F Salvador Galli, a Milanese Theatin, and superior of the monastery of Goa, they went away. Being come to the city, I caused my equipage to be carried to the monastery, where I was courteously received by the said Father

## 6. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY GOA AND ITS DELIGHTFUL CHANNEL

GOA IS seated in the latitude of fifteen degrees, and twenty minutes, and 104 of longitude, in an island nine leagues about in the river Mandavi, which six miles below it falls into the sea. It stretches two miles in length along the channel upon uneven ground, being but half a mile broad. It is under the

torrid zone, which the antients thought inhabitable, by reason of the excessive heat of the sun, but Providence, which has disposed all things in the best manner, has qualified it with continual rains, which fall so plentifully from June, till September, or October, that the great floods dam up the harbour, and obstruct navigation, besides the skies being darkened whole weeks with the thick clouds. When the rains cease at sun-rising, the heat is intolerable, and therefore it is most violent in April, and May, when the sun is in the zenith, and the rains are not yet begun.

Alfonso de Albuquerque, took Goa from Adil Khan, without bloodshed, in the year 1503, a Dominican Father setting up the standard of our Holy Faith. Adil Khan afterwards retook the city, but in 1510, Albuquerque recovered it again, with the slaughter of 7,000 barbarians, and built a fort there, as he did at Malaca, which was lost in 1641. Then considering the goodness of the country, and commodious situation of the place, he constituted it the metropolis of the Portuguese empire in India. To establish his master King Emanuel in the possession, by gaining the love of the subjects, he moderated the tribute they paid to Adil Khan, and to breed up soldiers for the wars, he contrived that the Indian maids should be baptized, and married to the Portugueses, that the Indians might be united to his nation by affinity, and there might be no need of bringing fresh supplies still out of Portugal, to the depopulating the kingdom. Goa, the centre of all the Portuguese conquests, grew in wealth and renown, being become the key of all the trade of the East, and the chief mart of India. This plainly appears by the compass of its walls, which extend full four leagues, with good bastions, and redoubts, which from the church of the Madre de Deos, or the Mother of God, run along for twelve miles to the powder-house, passing by the castles of St. Blase, and St. James, a work of a vast expense, as are the others next the channel, which divides the dominion of the Mogul, from that of Portugal, beginning at Fort St. Thomas, and ending three miles off, at that of St. Christopher. It may be objected that these last fortifications, were raised to defend the borders, as is true, but the first walls were made to no other purpose but to defend, and enclose the city, as the Marquiss de Villa Verde,



the viceroy informed me, when I enquired into it, thinking that city did not stand in need of such large walls. But it is certain the city is not now what it was formerly; for the great losses the Portugueses sustained, whilst their forces were employed in war at home, made their trade decline, and impaired the wealth and grandeur of the city to such a degree, that it was reduced to a miserable condition.

The houses are the best in India, but at present it does not contain above 20,000 inhabitants of several nations, habits, and religious. There are fewest of the Portugueses, who go over with employments, and then marry and settle there, because the Indian women, by reason of the ill qualities of those born in India, choose rather to marry a poor Portuguese soldier, than a rich country man of their own, though born of Portuguese parents. The Mestizos are more numerous, and those are so called that are born of Portuguese men, and Braman women, whom they married after reducing Goa, and though the Canarine women were black, yet marrying whites, their race by degrees became lighter coloured. About the fourth part of the people are Mulattas, that is, born of whites and blacks.

The Canarines are as black as Ethiopians, but have long hair, and good faces. Many of them, both in Goa, and the islands are priests, lawyers attorneys, scriveners, and solicitors, and very diligent in the service of their masters. They are descended from several generations of gentiles, and according to their nobility, or meanness, they continue their customs. Most of them are the offspring of Bramens, Bannians, and Charados, and these have good clear understandings, being apt to learn all sciences, sharp-witted, ingenious, and ready, and therefore everybody endeavours to have some of them for their servants. On the contrary, those that are of low extraction, as the *Langottis*, are the very reverse of the others. All Asia does not afford greater thieves and ruffians, or more faithless ill Christians than they are. They go naked, covering only their privities with a cloth, which they call *langoti*, and passing betwixt their thighs, is tied behind with a cord hanging down from the waist. These till the land, fish, row, carry andoras, and follow such mean employments; but, as was said, they are so addicted to thieving, and do it so dexterously, that it is almost impossible to escape them. Were it for the love of God they led so miserable a

life, they would be accounted living saints. They sleep naked day and night on the bare ground, they feed on a little rice swimming in the dish, never tasting bread as long as they live, unless they be extremely sick. All this proceeds from their laziness, for no sooner have they got as much rice as will keep them a week, but they give over work, living idly as long as that lasts.

The Portugueses tell us, that these Canarines, when they were first discovered, went to advise with their idols, that is, the devil, to know what they were to do with the new people that had subdued them, and received for an answer, that they were not able to deal with them by open force, and therefore pretending not to understand the impertinent Portuguese, they should give them water when they asked for bread, and rice when they demanded wine. Experience soon showed how frivolous the advice was, for the Portugueses readily found the way to cure them of their stupidity, taking a bamboo, which is a very hard cane in India, and beating them so severely, that afterwards they flew at every beck. And whilst I was at Goa, I perceived the aforesaid cane performed wonders; for being beaten, they understood a man's thoughts and served readily, but to give them fair words was time lost. Beating is so agreeable to these wretches, that it makes up a part of their amorous delight, for when they marry, the couple lies down upon their hard bed, and the kindred and friends come and thrash them, showing them so much of this brutal kindness, that they are unfit for any business for some time.

Most of the citizens and merchants of Goa, are idolaters and Mahometans, who live in a quarter of the town apart, and without any public use of their religion. We shall speak of them both at large hereafter. There are also abundance of Cafres and blacks, for there are Portugueses that keep thirty, or forty, and the least six or twelve, to carry their umbrella, and andora, and other mean employments, nor are they at any other charge to keep them, but a dish of rice at noon, and another at night; for they have no other garments but what they brought out of their mother's wombs. These slaves are carried to sell at Goa, and all along the Portuguese towns, by the Company's ships belonging to *Lisbon* and *India*, who buy them at *Mombasa*, *Mozambique*, *Sofala*, and other parts along the coast of *Africa*,

for those nations being at war among themselves, take slaves on both sides, whom they afterwards sell to the Portuguese. There are others whom their parents out of mere want sell for only a zecchine; and others who in despair, barbarously sell themselves. There would be abundance of this last sort, did they foolishly consent, that at Goa they make powder of the. They being very cheap, that is, fifteen or twenty crown Naples a head, it is no wonder there should be such number of them, and that the very vintners keep them to sell their wine; besides the Canarines they have for other uses. As to their religion they are idolaters, but are easily induced to embrace Catholic faith, there being no need of many persuasions, they presently yield, and readily consent to be baptized. On the contrary, those of the coast of Africa opposite to Sp. are perverse. There are some of them who besides eating one another, when it thunders, shoot arrows towards Heaven brutishly challenging God to fight with them.

But those blacks we speak of, though of an ill aspect, have some of them such a noble and genteel disposition, that it were a blessing that every European gentleman were like the D. Francisco de Taverno, Earl of Alvor, who was afterwards viceroy of India, being governor of Angola, the son of a neighbouring king, came once to visit him, and understanding that the Portuguese were precise in matter of compliments, as that he should be received standing, as was accordingly done, he took along with him two slaves well instructed what they were to do. Being come into the governor's room, and seeing no chairs brought him, he caused his two slaves to squat down and sit upon them. The Portuguese admired the Cafres' ingenuity, and presently ordered chairs to be brought. After the visit the two slaves stayed in the count's house; and their master being told of it by the count's servants, that he might call them away, he answered, he did not use to carry away the chairs he sat on.

In the same kingdom of Angola, two brothers of the King de las Pedras being made prisoners by the Portuguese, were sent to Lisbon, where in a visit they made to the Marquis of Marialva seeing no chairs were brought them; they drew themselves and sat down, telling the marquis, that he was their marquis, and they princes.

As their princes and gentry are endowed with generous and noble thoughts, so the commonalty are courageous, and cunning, for they with poor weapons overcome elephants, and the fiercest lions. To kill the first of these they make a narrow path, along which they by means of several contrivances drive the beast, and then dextrously wound it with a javelin from off a tree. When it has bled to death and falls, all the inhabitants of the neighbouring village, resort to the place, and live there in tents till they have eaten all the flesh. Others finding the elephant lying on the ground, get upon him, and stab him with a long dagger, holding fast upon him till he is dead, which cannot be done without much courage. They kill the lions for sport; for when they see one astray in the woods, one of them advances with two small cudgels in his hand, and clapping one of them into the lion's paw, plays with the other. In the meanwhile the next black to him very dextrously takes the beast by the testicles, and then they beat him to death. So when they would have a lion quit a cow he has seized, they draw near, and saluting him after the same manner as is used in Africa, to persons of the greatest note, that is, lying down on their side, holding up one foot, and at the same time making a noise with hands and mouth. This was generally told me by the Portuguese, *the reader may believe what he pleases, for I do not assert those things for truths, which I have not seen.* Since we are speaking of these blacks, it is to be observed that in Africa there are some called Nudoy, Macua, who are so fierce and inhuman, that they eat the flesh of the enemies they take, or kill in battle. They go quite naked, except their privities; and curl their thick hair, winding it about small sticks, which makes them look like devils. They lie in the open fields on trees, being used to this dangerous bed, for fear of the wild beasts that country is full of. No part of the world is richer in gold, for in some kingdoms it is found upon the surface of the earth, so that there is no need of digging for it, and therefore instead of iron they use golden nails.

To return, after so long a digression, to Goa, its port is compared by Tavernier, to the best in our continent, such as Constantinople, and Toulon. And to say the truth, besides what nature made it, the Portuguese have taken much pains to

complete, and fortify it by means of many castles and to furnish with good cannon; for at the entrance on the left the point of the island of Bardez, is a good fort called Ago with strong works, and guns levelled with the water; on the of the hill, near the channel, is a long wall, all planted with non, and opposite to it the castle called Nossa Senhora do C or our Lady of the Cope, built in the island of Goa. Two within the channel, above the island of Bardez, is another c called dos Reys, or of the kings, well fortified and with car level with the water. Here the new viceroys take possessi their first arrival. Near this fort is a monastery of Francisc Opposite to it, and within cannon shot, is the fort of Ga Dias, but two miles distant from that of the king's. Beyond t castles the channel grows narrower, sometimes to one, somet to two miles, and its banks set out with the best fruit and India affords, yield the finest prospect imaginable. Besi there are delicate country houses called quintas, and aban ance of dwellings of the country people The delightful s holds for eight miles up to Goa.

Half way up on the right side is a palace called Pass Daug, where formerly the viceroys resided; at present it se to quarter the garrison soldiers There begins a thick wall miles in length, for a footpath when the country is overflow and there a great deal of salt is gathered: Opposite to this v or dike, is a hill, on which the Jesuits have their noviceship viceroy has his palace called la Palvereira, on the same chan and so has the archbishop. Here begins the city, and so far sl can come up after lightening some part of their load.

This channel that makes so noble a port, runs many r up the country, dividing it into several fruitful islands peninsulas, which do not only plentifully supply the city v necessities, but delight the pallate with rich fruit, aff a curious prospect, and yield much profit to the gentry whom for the most part they belong. In short, this char for pleasure is no way inferior to our Posilipo, as well account of those advantages here mentioned, as for the m boats there are on it to take the air.

Adjoining to this port is that of Marmagao formed by other channel that runs between the island of Goa :

peninsula's of Salsette; to give a safe retreat to the ships that come from Portugal and other parts, when they are shut out of the port, by the sands the river Mandavi brings down, when swollen by the first rains of June, the passage not being open till October. This port of Marmagao is defended by the castle of the same name, seated in the island of Salsette, with a good garrison and cannon

These two channels which meet at St. Laurence make the length from east to west of the island of Goa, which is twenty-seven miles in compass and contains thirty villages. Entering the port on the right hand is the peninsula of Salsette, which is sixty miles about, and twenty in length, containing 50,000 souls in fifty villages, where the Jesuits administer the sacraments. On the left is the other peninsula of Bardez, in which are the forts of Agoada, and Reyes. It is fifteen miles long, and about forty-five in compass with 28 villages, governed in spirituals by the clergy.

Saturday 26th, going to the custom-house to find the commander of the Manchuca, and tell him that his men had stolen a coat, and a silver case for the table out of my portmanteau; I saw F. Francis's man carried away prisoner, for having spoke saucily to the officer of the customs on account of his master's goods. He was discharged upon my request; and the customer very civilly told me, that if I had any baggage I might take it away without searching; a piece of courtesy not used towards strangers in our custom-houses

After dinner, I went to see the cathedral. It is very large, arched, divided into three isles by twelve columns, and all curiously adorned with figures, as are the chapels. The archbishop's seat is in the choir, but raised a great height above the ground. The palace is magnificent and spacious, with curious galleries and noble apartments, for what India affords; but the archbishop, for the conveniency of the cool air, lives in that we said was upon the channel, near the powder house. A few paces from the cathedral is the little church of the Misericordia.

Sunday 27th, I went two miles from the city to see the monastery of the Recollects, called A Madre de Deos, or the Mother of God. The dormitories are large and sightly, and their gardens furnished with several sorts of European, and Indian

fruit. The church though small is beautiful, with 3 handsome altars; one in the middle railed in, and two on the sides. In the garden where S. Jerome's hermitage stands, there is a fish-pond well stored.

Near this monastery, at the place called Daugi, begins the wall built by the Portuguese when the city was in it. Flourishing condition along the channel, to secure it from being invaded by enemies. It is about four miles along, reaching to S. Blase, S. James's Fort, and S. Laurence, with towers at convenient distances furnished with cannon.

Returning home I went into the church and monastery of S. Dominic. The first has three isles, made by six columns on a side. The arches are gilt, especially that of the choir, where gold glitters in every part. The high altar and chapel are well adorned. The convent is magnificent, for the long arches of the dormitories, cloister and other spacious places, necessary for a great number of Fathers. The gardens are also pleasant and curious.

After dinner I saw the monastery of S. Augustin, seated on a high ground, that commands the city. A large ascent of steps leads up to the front of the church, where there are two high towers with great bells. The church has but one isle set off with good images. As well the altars of eight side-chapels, as the high altars, and only on each hand of it, are all richly gilt. The stately choir is above, over the great gate. The monastery has a good cloister with vast great dormitories, and an infinite number of cells. Add to all this the beauty of the gardens, always green, and beautified with the best trees India produces. Near this monastery is the college for novices with a decent church and dwellings.

The little church of the Theatins is built after the model of S. Andrew della Velle in Rome. Four columns support the cupola, which is adorned with images, as are the arches. Both the high altar and beautiful chapels on the sides are gilt. The choir is over the three doors coming in. The monastery also small, and has a garden.

Monday 28th, F. Salvador gave me a taste of the root sago, boiled with coconut, milk and sugar. Though when dressed it looks like glue, yet it is very nourishing and well-tasted. It

comes from Malaca and the island of Borneo bruised small like millet, and white.

Tuesday the 1st of March, the viceroy returned from visiting the northern coast. Two vessels arrived from China, having spent a long time in their voyage, for fear of the Arabs. I went to the barefoot Franciscans, which is one of the best churches in Goa. For though small it looks like one entire mass of gold, there is so much of this metal about the high altar, and sepulchre for Maundy Thursday, and in the eight chapels on the side. The roof is curiously adorned with fretwork.

The Jesuits College, called S. Rock, has a small church with six little chapels, but the house is large and capable of seventy Fathers, who live in it, there being but twenty-five at the professed house.

S. Monica of the Augustinian nuns, is an arched church, with three gilt altars. Here is a miraculous crucifix. Sister Mary of Jesus died in this monastery with the reputation of sanctity. She having the signs of our Saviour's Wounds found upon her, and on her head, as it were the goreing of thorns, whereof the archbishop took authentic information.

After dinner I went to St. Paul, the first church founded by the Jesuits in India, whence they took the name of Paulistas. Afterward they left it on account of the ill air, and because it was out of the city, so that only two Fathers reside there at present, having formerly been a college, the dormitories still standing are magnificent. In the garden there are 2 jaqua, and some mango trees caused to be planted by S. Francis Xavierius. There is also a chapel built in memory of the ecstasy or rapture the saint had in that place. In this church, though formerly magnificent, there is at present only the high altar, with two small ones on the sides. Here the catechumens are instructed; for whose sustenance the king allows four hundred pieces of eight a year.

In India all Christians wear their beads about their necks, like religious men. The Jesuits instead of a priest's cap, wear a long round one, broad at the top.

The Miraculous Cross, is a church built on the hill, on the place where a wooden cross being formerly fixed on a stone foot, it is reported that seventy-four years since the crucifix was



found with its back miraculously turned towards Goa, which city from that time has very much declined.

Wednesday 2nd March, I went to the church of S. Thomas of the Dominicans, a good fabric on the bank of the channel. It has seven altars; the monastery is large, and beautiful, inhabited by 25 Fathers

S. Bonaventure of the Observants of S. Francis, is a small distance from it, has a little church, and indifferent dormitories. It was the first built at Goa in honour of S Francis by Edward de Merses.

The hospital of Goa is small, and ill governed, though the king allows it four hundred pieces of eight a year. For this reason, and through the pestilential air of the country there die thousands of sick persons in it, and particularly of wretched Portuguese soldiers.

Thursday 3rd, I went in an andora, to Our Lady of the Pillar, seated on a hill six miles from the city. This is the school of the Recollects. The church though small is beautiful, and has three gilt altars. Returning home one of the bues or porters that carried me in the andora being got drunk, I was forced to make the peasants, I met by the way carry me; they obeying readily upon sight of a cudgel.

It is to be observed that all the monasteries in Goa and throughout all the Portuguese dominions in India, have some allowance from the king, more or less, according to the number of the religious.

## 7. OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN DOMINION OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

VASCO de Gama a Portuguese gentleman, whose statue is over one of the gates of Goa, was the first that performed this tedious voyage, and King Emanuel of Portugal had the good fortune to see that accomplished which his predecessors had in vain attempted for seventy-five years before. Gama had the

title of general, or admiral of four ships, three whereof were well fitted for war, and the fourth loaded with provisions; and being furnished with all necessaries for so long a voyage he sailed from Lisbon on the 9th of July 1497, a season, as afterwards was found by experience, most improper to go to India, for want of those general winds that forward ships on their way thither. After some dangerous storms he touched at the island of St. James, the biggest of the ten of Cabo Verde, where having taken what he wanted, he continued his voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, which he found very stormy, as Bartholomew Diaz had called it, as well by reason of its being in thirty-four degrees and a half of south latitude, as because the two oceans here break one upon another. Nevertheless King John, under whom Diaz discovered it, would not have it called the stormy cape for fear of discouraging sailors for the time to come, but on the contrary gave it the name of the Cape of Good Hope. There a worse storm than that of the sea, was raised aboard the ship by the sailors against Gama, for they daunted with the present danger, and fearing greater, if they went further, conspired together to throw him overboard and return home. Gama having intelligence of it, clapt the chief of the conspirators in irons, and sitting down himself at the helm, played both the parts of the captain and pilot, till he had weathered the Cape, and brought them all out of that danger. Then steering north-east, still coasting along Africa, this eastern Columbus came at last to the island of Mozambique, and then boldly crossing a gulph of 2,500 miles on the 18th of May 1498, came to an anchor in a port thirty miles from Calicut a city in the kingdom of Malabar, after ten months sail from Lisbon. The Portuguese continued this same way to India for several years after, still going on to the discovery of more remote countries, as far as China and Japan, and to the southward opened a way to the infinite number of islands in that great archipelago. Their discoveries were followed by conquests, with an incredible increase as well of souls brought to the faith, as of glory and dominions added to the crown of Portugal. Having by repeated voyages settled the means of getting the necessary supplies out of Europe, the Portuguese began to subdue the kingdoms of Deccan, Cambay, and Gujarat, taking the forts

of Diu, Cambay, Surat, Daman, Tarapur, Maim, Bassein, Thana, Chaul, Dabul, and other places for two hundred miles along the coast; as also the islands of Goa, Salsette, Bardez, Anjidiva, and others; the small city of S Thomas, the kingdoms of Cochin and Calicut, and the island of Ceylon.

Further on towards China, they made themselves masters of the important place of Malacca, of the Molucca islands, and the islands of Timor, and Solor, building the colony of Macao with the consent of the emperor of China. The dominion also extended on the coast of Africa over Angola and Mozambique. This last is an island three miles in compass, and a mile in length, where only the Jesuits have a garden of palm-trees. The fort is seated on the mouth of the channel, which runs between the said little island, and the continent. The castle has four good bastions, with seventy-four choice pieces of cannon. The governor is honoured with the title of general of the river of Senna, where he has his lieutenant, which employment is worth to him several hundred thousand crowns, there are but a few houses about the fort, the inhabitants keeping their effects on the neighbouring continent. But notwithstanding the narrowness of the place there are monasteries of Jesuits, Dominicans, of S John de Dios, besides the chief church and that of the Misericordia. The merchandize brought to this port by the ships of the Company, are bought at a set price by the royal factory; which afterwards sends them to Kilimane, the mouth of the river of Senna, running three hundred miles along the coast in galliots and small vessels, because of the flats. From Kilimane, the goods are sent up the river against the stream in almadias or little boats, which are ten days going up, and but five coming down. It is very difficult going up for those that are not well acquainted with the shallows, and windings of the river. Cafres, or blacks resort to this port from provinces and kingdoms three or four months' journey distant to buy or take up goods upon trust for so much gold, which they never fail to bring punctually the next year, unless death prevent them. This trade yields above cent per cent so that the Portugueses may be said to have another India in Africa.

Sena is a little town on the right hand of the river, inhabited by fifty Portuguese families, who make it populous enough by

the great number of blacks they keep These till the ground, and dig in the mines, and by that means maintain their masters instead of being kept by them The Dominicans and other missionaries when they return from this place carry away gold, in ingots, and plates, so great is the plenty of it, especially a month's journey up the country, where they say the beasts shoes are set on with gold nails, as was said elsewhere

On the same coast, fifteen days' journey from Mozambique, the Portugueses have the fort of Sofala, the first place they discover in this part of Africa, as also the small island and fort of Mombasa

In Arabia Felix the Portugueses once had the important place of Muscat, and its dependances, the kingdom of Ormuz, the islands of Recca, Kescimi, and others in the Persian Gulf, where they made the island of Bahrein tributary, as also the considerable city of Basra, which still pays five thousand five hundred crowns and a horse yearly tribute to the king of Portugal, besides two zecchines a day for the subsistence of the Portuguese's factor, but whensoever their fleet, does not appear powerful in the gulf the Mahometans refuse to pay

They also made themselves masters in the kingdom of Canara of the forts of Onore, Barcelore, and Combolin, in the country of the Nayars of the castles of Cannanore, Cranganor, Pallipuram, and Qulon; and of the fort of Manar on the island of that name

In the island of Ceylon, of seven provinces (or Korales, as the Indians call them) three were brought under the Portugueses dominion, with the rich country of the cinnamon, and the forts of Kalutara, Colombo, Chlawa, Jaffna, Trichil, Mall, and Batticaloa, and this by the last will of the king of Kotta who was sovereign thereof. The Dutch with the assistance of the neighbouring kings afterwards made themselves masters, if not of all, at least of a considerable part of the said three provinces.

The Portugueses further subdued the city and fort of Negapatam in the kingdom of Madura, Tamruk in the kingdom of Bengal, and Makasar in the kingdom of that name. So that being become formidable to all the princes of Asia, they had made all the country about tributary; and being sovereigns of that vast ocean by means of their mighty fleets no ship of any

nation whatsoever could sail those seas without their leave and pass, seizing the ships and goods, and imprisoning the men for presuming to sail without their protection. This authority the Portugueses, though weak, still exercise over all ships of Moors and gentiles; for the Europeans are got above it. These conquests gained at the expense of many lives, and with the effusion of much blood scarce lasted an age and a half; for the Dutch falling into the India trade, instead of extending their conquests among so many islands and kingdoms of Mahometans and pagans, they only robbed the Portugueses of what they had gained with so much valour, making this ungrateful return to a nation, which with so many dangers and sufferings, taught and secured to them that tedious voyage.

Another cause of the decay of the Portugueses power in India was their conquest of Brazil, for finding there more profit, they slighted India, and neglected to send thither sufficient supplies to preserve what they had, much less to make new conquests. This is so certain, that the king of Portugal was several times in the mind absolutely to abandon it, which had certainly been done, had not the missionaries made him sensible that if he did so all the Christians of those countries would again fall into idolatry and Mahometanism.

If we look upon what remains to the Portugueses at present in India, it is very inconsiderable, and instead of being profitable scarce pays its own charge. At Goa they have the small island of that name, with those of Salsette, Bardez, Angidiva, and others. On the northern coast the fortresses of Daman, Bassein and Chaul, in the kingdom of Gujarat the city of Diu. Near China the islands of Timor (abounding in sandal) and Solor, and the colony of Macao, subject to the emperor of China. In Africa, Angola, Sena, Sofala, Mozambique and Mombasa; many in number, but of no great value. Those that envy the honour of the Portugueses ascribe their losses to their want of zeal for religion, and their not persisting long in the propagation of it, for they say that the Portugueses entering India with the crucifix in one hand and the sword in the other, finding much gold, they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets; and not being able to hold them up with one hand they were grown so heavy, they dropped their sword too. Being

found in this posture by those that came after, they were easily overcome. This is an excellent contrivance of ill tongues, but the chief cause of their ruin was their having made so many conquests so far divided from one another, and next the war at home, which obstructed the relieving of India.

All that remains under the Portugueses dominion from the Cape of Good Hope in Africa, to the city of Macao in China, is governed by a viceroy, with the title of captain general, who resides at Goa as the metropolis of India. There are six, and sometimes eight desembargadores, or judges that attend the government, as a sovereign court or council, who wear a gown down to their heels over a cassock of the same length, the gown with wide sleeves down half way their arms. They wear gollilas and huge periwigs after the French fashion. The chief court these gown-men sit in is called a *relacaon*, which administers justice in civil and criminal cases, having power over all ministers, and tries all appeals brought from any parts of the dominions. The viceroy sits as chief of this court under a canopy, the gown-men sit on benches placed on the plain floor. The Council de *Facenda*, is like the court of exchequer, where one of the gown-men sits as the viceroy's deputy.

There is the *Matricula-General*, the *Procurador-Mor-dos-Contos*, and the committee of the new company of traders. These have put in several sums to carry on the trade of Mozambique, Mombasa, Macao, and other parts of the Portugueses dominions, and have the privilege that none should trade but they, because they pay the salaries of the governors. The viceroy and archbishop put in many thousand *pardaos* into this company, to encourage others to do the like, but it can scarce last long, because the stock is but small. The profit is to be divided every three years.

The Inquisition is much respected and dreaded by the Christians at Goa, and about it; as is the archbishop, or primate.

The viceroy goes by water in a balloon, or barge rowed by twenty-two Canarines, with trumpets before him, and sits on a velvet seat, with several of his domestics about him. When he lands he is carried in a sedan by four men. He has a guard of ten horse, and several of the gentry and officers attend him in palanquins.

Though the Portugueses dominions be small; yet the king appoints several generals who have very little advantage besides the honour. One of them is called of the Gulf of Ormuz, and commands four ships; another of the north, who is like a general over all those towns, and resides at Bassein; another of Salsette, who commands in that island; one of China, who commands only in the town of Macao; one in the islands of Timor and Solor, and lastly one of Goa, who has; the care of channels, that no person may come in or pass by from the the Mogul's country. And this because it is a difficult matter to secure the passage between so many small islands; for besides those of Goa, Bardez and Salsette, there are, that of Chora, where are two villages, the noviciate of the Jesuits, and a parish of seculars; Divar, or Narva with three villages, where the seculars have the cure of souls, Capon, belonging to the nuns of S. Monica; Cumbarjua, and Juarim belonging to the Jesuits; S. Stephen, where there is a fort, village and parish of seculars; the small island of Emanuel Lobo de Silvera, with a few houses on it, that of Emanuel Motto, which is the stews of Goa, being inhabited by pagan dancing-whores; and lastly the small island of Dongarim belonging to the Augustinians. These for the most part abound in palm or coco-trees, under which the Canarines and gentiles build cottages to live in; so that every palm-tree grove looks like a little village. They say the breath of man makes the palm-tree more fruitful.

Not only the viceroy but all the officers civil and military, and church-men have sufficient allowance from the king to maintain them handsomely. The viceroy's salary is 30,000 pardaos, which are the third part of a piece of eight. The archbishop 12,000; the officers of the inquisition, canons, monasteries, and parishes a competency, but all the tithes belong to the king.

## 8. OF THE FRUIT AND FLOWERS OF INDOSTAN

IT MUST not be thought strange that, being to speak of the fruit and flowers of so vast a country as Indostan, I should bring it in immediately after Goa, because all those sorts, which are found in the several parts of that tract, being to be had about Goa, and even some that are not elsewhere, it is proper we should give an account of them before we leave that city. I will endeavour to explain their Portuguese names the best I can, and add the cuts of them, that they may appear the plainer to the reader.

To begin then by the palmera de cocos, or coco-tree, the first place being due to that plant which is most beneficial to man. It is to be conceived that this tree fits out and loads a ship for sea, without borrowing anything elsewhere. Of the leaves, which some of the people on that coast use instead of paper, they generally make sails; of the wood the vessel. The fruit, which is well known in Europe, yields meat and drink, and a good commodity, besides its outward case or rind steeped in water is spun to make all necessary cordage for a vessel, though there are some sorts of it which they eat like other fruit. This first rind, when ripe is yellow, the shell which is hard, makes dishes to drink chocolate and for other uses. Within it is a white pulp or nut sticking round the shell about half an inch thick, which tastes like an almond. In the midst of it is a clear water very good to drink. Of this same fruit they make several sorts of sweetmeats, and oil, both to burn and eat for want of olives. Cutting a branch of it and putting the end into a vessel, the moisture that should feed the nut runs into it and is called *nira*, and *sura*. The *nira* is white and sweet just of the taste of the liquor made of the grapes, by putting water to them after they have been pressed, and is taken before the sun rises. The *sura* is the same liquor turned sour, and is taken after the sun is up and has heated the air. It must be put to the fire before it is drank, or else its coldness would give the gripes. It is so nourishing that the Indians live upon it several days without any other sustenance.



This sura distilled makes wine, and when it decays vinegar; but the distilling being several times repeated it becomes a strong water: boiled it turns to sugar, and they use it as leaven to their bread. Pressing the pith of the tree they draw milk out of it, as we do from almonds, to boil rice, and for several other uses. This fruit keeps the year about. Thus the coco-trees yield the best revenue in India, because the country does not produce much rice, cotton, or corn. They grow straight to sixty spans in height, of an equal thickness from the bottom to the top. The Indians use them for timber to build their houses, and the leaves to cover them, or to burn.

The palm, or date tree in India bears no fruit, but they draw nira, or sura from them. There are several other sorts of them that yield little fruit. One they call palmeira de transolin, whose fruit is ripe in May. This is smaller than the coco, the outside rind to make ropes black, and full within of the same substance as the other cocos. Every transolin bears three little coconuts in a triangle; the pulp whereof pressed yields a cold white water. This grows as high as the coco-tree, but is thicker of leaves, which grow like a broom, and produces fruit but once a year, whereas the other does four times. This tree also affords nira and sura, both of them naturally excessive cold.

The palma de coco de bugios, or the monkey coco-tree, has boughs like large disciplines. Of the fruit they make curious beads, because the paters have a natural work on them, than which nothing more curious could be made by art. There are other palm-trees in India that do not bear, and the Indians run up and down them by the help of a rope tied about the tree, and the man so nimbly that none can believe that has not seen it.

The arequeira, or areca-tree is like the palm, but slenderer and not so high. It bears a sort of fruit necessary for chewing with the betel, like a nutmeg and enclosed in a case or rind, like that of the coconut, and on a bough as thick of them as that which produces dates. This fruit is gathered four or five times a year.

The figueira, or fig-tree is a plant as soft as a bulrush, as thick as a man's thigh, and between fifteen and twenty spans high, with leaves above a quarter broad. It is generally believed there that Adam and Eve covered what should not be seen

with them in paradise, they being not only big enough to cover what should be hid, but to make a small cloak for their nakedness. The Indians use them for dishes, and have new ones every meal, others for paper to write on. It bears fruit but once, for when it has produced sixty, seventy, and sometimes a hundred figs on a branch, they cut down the plant and a young sprout grows out again. But there are two sorts of them. Those that are a span long, and about the thickness and shape of an egg, are called *figos de assar*, or *roasting figs*; and these are as sweet as a wild fig, and very nourishing, being eaten roasted with cinnamon and sugar. The pulp or flesh within is white and red, with some small tender black seeds, which are also eaten. They are gathered green, and ripen and turn yellow in the house, like winter melons. The other sort is called *figos de orta*, or *garden figs*, these are sweeter, better tasted, and eaten raw, but not so large as the others, though they have the same seeds. As for their nature, these are cold, and the others hot, both of them ripen at any time of the year.

The *manguera* or *mango-tree* is as high as a good pear-tree, but has larger and softer leaves. The mango it bears is weighty and flat, and hangs downwards by a long stalk. Without they are green, and the pulp within the shell is white and yellow. There are several sorts of them and variously tasted.

Some are called *mangas carreiras* and *mallaias*, others of *nicholas alfonso*, others *sattias*, and others by other names, all of them exceeding any European fruit in delicate taste. They are ripe in May, June and July, though there are some in January and February. They are of a very hot nature, and are gathered from the tree like all other Indian fruits, green, coming afterwards to their maturity and perfection in three days keeping in the house.

The *caramboleira*, or *carambola-tree*, is as big as a plum tree, and bears such a leaf. The fruit called *carambola*, when ripe is white within and yellow without, shaped exactly like a lemon, with four or five kernels, and it has a sour taste like a lemon. The Portuguesees preserve them because they are cooling. The tree blossoms and bears several times a year.

The *anoneira*, or *anona-tree* is very large and produces the fruit called *anona* in March and April. It is as big as a pear,

red and yellow without, whitish within, and full of a soft, sweet, and pleasant substance, which is eaten with a spoon; but it has some hard black kernels. I do not know how to describe it better, because it is nothing like any sort of fruit in Europe.

The *ateira*, or *ata*-tree is as big as an apple-tree, but with small leaves. Its fruit called *ata* is like that of the pine-tree, green without, and within white and soft with black seeds, so that it is eaten with a spoon. It is sweeter than the *anona*, smelling both of *ambar* and rose-water. It ripens in November and December.

The *cajuyera*, or *cajus*-tree is not very tall, but thick of boughs and leaves. The fruit is like an apple red and yellow without. It is singular in this, that all other fruit having the stone within, this has it at the top raised like a green crest; smelling to which a Spanish preacher and missionary told me did much help the memory; and that he by that means soon made himself master of the longest sermon. I never had experience of it, nor will I vouch for what he said. What I can safely attest is, that breaking the stone, the kernel within it roasted tastes like an almond, and raw like a new nut. This fruit ripens between February and May. Cutting it in quarters, steeping it in cold water, and then chewing it, there comes from it a cool juice, good for all obstructions in the breast.

The *jamboleira*, or *jambolon*-tree grows wild and has the leaves like a lemon-tree, but the fruit is so delicious, that an Indian woman coming to Lisbon, loathed all the best fruit in Europe, remembering her loved *jambolon*. They hang on the boughs like cherries, or olives, and have the red colour of the one and the shape and stone like the other. The Indians eat it with salt, but I tasting them in the garden of the *Theatins* where I was entertained, did not think them so pleasant to the palate of Europeans; because they taste somewhat like a service apple, and to eat many of them makes the belly swell extremely. Their season is generally in April and May.

The *jangomeira*, or *jangoma* tree is very large, all prickly, and with small leaves. The *jangomas* the Portuguese call Adam's fruit, being of the shape of a walnut, purple without and red within, and has two stones. The taste of it is a mixture of sour, sweet, and bitterish like a medlar. They are in season November, December, and January.

The *brindeiera*, or *brindon-tree* is as tall as a pear-tree, but has smaller leaves. The *brindones* or fruit it bears in February, March and April, are a sort of fruit like our golden pippins, but their rind is harder, though the pulp or flesh of it is red, viscous and sharpish, which they chew and suck the juice, and has three soft kernels within it. The Portuguese make sauce of the rind.

The *carandeira*, or *caranda-tree* is low and thorny, with leaves like an orange-tree. The fruit of it called *caranda* is no other than wild grapes of Indostan, reddish without and white within, with seeds. It is ripe in April, and May.

The *jambos* of Malacca are tall trees with long slender leaves. The fruit of it called also *jambos*, are as big as small apples and of the same taste, but smell like rose-water. The outward rind is yellowish, within of a cinnamon colour, and there are two stones loose from the pulp. They begin to ripen in January, and hold to the end of April.

The *papayera* is a plant that does not grow above twenty spans high, and the body of it is under a span diameter, but so soft that it is easily cut with a knife. The leaf is broad like that of a pompon. The *papayas* it produces, hang like clusters of grapes about the top of the trunk, where they ripen and grow bigger, one after another. In the Portuguese dominions in India they call these the *Jesuit's melons*, because they taste like melons, and those Fathers like them so well, that they have them every day at dinner. They are shaped like them a *berengena* (a fruit well known in Spain, but not in England) but twice, or three times as big. As to colour they are green and yellow without, and yellowish within, with little black seeds or stones in them, like elder-berries. This fruit grows all the year about.

The *jaquera* or *jaqua-tree* is as big as a laurel with green and yellow leaves. The fruit it produces is the biggest in the world, or at least that ever I saw, for no man can carry above one of them; and some of them are four spans long, and a span and a half diameter. It being impossible for the boughs to bear such a weight, nature has providently ordered it should grow out at the foot of the tree, and in the island of Ceylon and at Malacca, underground upon the root; and they know when it is ripe by the smell that

comes from it. The rind is yellow and green, but prickly, and with some stiff points like those about the collars of mastiffs. Within it there are many yellow separations like those in an orange, with each of them a kernel in it, like an acorn; which roasted tastes like a chestnut. This fruit is gathered from May till September.

The white jambojera, or jambo-tree of India is as high as a laurel. The leaf is small, the blossom like the orange-flower, and the fruit like a pear, white and red without, and white within (with a stone) of the smell and taste of cherry. They are ripe in January, February, and March, and two or three times from the same plant.

The pereira or pear-tree is no large tree, but thick and has small leaves. The fruit without is green and yellow, like a pear; within it is white and soft, with tender seeds, and tastes like an overripe pear. It makes excellent conserve, or preserve, and lasts all the year.

The cinnamon-tree, though it bears no fruit is precious for its bark; which being taken off grows on the tree again, to yield the owner more profit. The best grows in the island of Ceylon; for that of Manila and other places is wild, and has not so fragrant a smell.

The toranja is a tree brought from Africa, small and prickly. Its fruit is like a large round lemon, with a thick yellowish rind, and red within, of the taste of an orange. It is in season in October and November.

The bilimbeira is as big as a plumb-tree, with thin leaves, and bears bilimbiries all the year. The colour of it is greenish; its shape like a long pompion; the taste sharp, and good to make sauce, or preserve. They are all eaten, because they have no stone.

The amcaleira or amcale-tree is as big as a pear-tree. The fruit of it by the Portugueses called amcale, grows out of the thick part of the branches. Its shape is like a golden pippin, with streaks like a melon on the outside; the flesh within is white, and has a stone. They make good sweetmeats of it, the natural taste being a pleasant tartness. They are ripe in February, March, and April.

The ananamzeira is a plant like our house-leek, producing ananas, which the Spaniards call pinas, one, two, three, or

more according to the bigness of the plant. This fruit is round and prickly, a span long, and above a span diameter, rising like a very great artichoke. The pulp within which smells like musk, is hard, yellow, and partly whitish. Its taste between sweet and sour, but very pleasant, especially if peeled and put into sugar and water. Some gather it before it is ripe, and make it very sweet with sugar, and from India they send great quantities into Spain, where it is much valued. It is wholesome, but so hot, that if a knife be left sticking in it a day, it loses its temper and is spoiled. The season of ripening is from April till July.

The mogoreira is a plant which from February, till the end of May, bears a most beautiful white flower called mogorin. Its smell, though like it, is much more fragrant than that of the jasmine, besides this difference, that the jasmine has but six leaves, and the mogorin above fifty. F. Salvador Galli told me that several plants were sent to Lisbon in earthen pots, for some Portuguese lords, and particularly for the Duke of Tuscany, who had a great mind to them; but that it was not known whether they arrived there fresh, being to cut the equinoctial line twice. The flower very well deserves to be in any royal garden, and the more because it is found nowhere but in Indostan.

The asafreira is bigger than a palm-tree, and in India produces saffron. The flower has a yellow bottom and six white leaves, and serves the Portugueses as our does in Europe to season their meat, but is not so good. There is this singular in this tree, that the flowers come out in the night, and almost all the year about.

The pimenteira is but a low plant which grows against any tree or wall, and bears the pepper in clusters like grapes. When ripe it is red, but the Indians burn and make it black, that it may not serve for seed elsewhere. It comes in March, April and May.

The beteleira is a tender plant like ivy, which runs up a stick. Its leaf is the delight of the Asiatics, for men and women, from the prince to the peasant delight in nothing more than chewing it all day in company, and no visit begins or ends without this herb. Before it they always chew the areca above described,

that the coolness of this, as they say, may temper the heat of the other; and they lay a little dissolved lime on the betel-leaf to colour, and soften its biting taste. It spends not so well in any part of Asia as in the Philippine islands, where the areca is soft and easy to chew, and the betel extraordinary good. The Spaniards make a composition of both herbs with lime, which they call buyo, and carry it in curious little boxes, to chew it every moment aboard and at home. The betel makes the lips so fine, red, and beautiful, that if the Italian ladies could they would purchase it for the weight in gold.

The trees and flowers hitherto described are the best in Indostan; but there are many more not to be despised. One of them they call puna, so tall and straight that it may serve for masts for ships. It produces a red fruit, in which there are twelve or more seeds, as big as acorns, and of the taste of pineapple kernels. But they eat them boiled that they may not cause the headache.

There are also Indian apples as big as a walnut, with a stone as a plum, and ill tasted. The tree is small and has very little leaves.

The tamarinds of Indostan are extraordinary good, and there is plenty of them about the fields. The tree is large and bears the fruit with a cod, like our beans.

The scararagam tree bears fruit of a greenish colour, and as big as a walnut. They are called undis, and are of a pleasant taste.

The chiampim of China is an odoriferous white flower, which preserved, contrary to the nature of other flowers, grows hard, and is sweet and pleasant in the mouth. This tree is like a little plan tree. There is another sort of chiampims with two leaves straight, white, and long, and as many red winding about below, and this grows not on a tree, but on a low plant on the ground.

The omlam tree bears a sort of fruit like a ruddy almond, and a long flower beautiful and fragrant enough.

Quegadam cheroza is an odd sort of a great yellow flower, with long green and prickly leaves

The majericam is a flower of small esteem, green and growing out of a little herb.

The padolm is a green plant, producing a sightly flower, and a long fruit, like an European cucumber

The pachaa is also a green flower, coming from a low plant.

The tindolim, is a plant bearing a red flower, and a fruit of the same colour, of the shape of a small lemon.

The inhama cona is a fruit white within, growing underground like potatoes, but much bigger and weighing many pounds. Boiled it is better than potatoes.

There are many more sorts of fruit, besides those here mentioned, as well of the country, as brought from other parts; as the batatas, the inhame, which boiled or roasted taste like chestnuts, pomegranates, lemons, and some few grapes; and as for garden-wear, berengenas, (before mentioned), pompions, beets, raddishes, coleworts, melons of all sorts, cucumbers, and many more brought out of Persia and Europe.



## BOOK II

## 1. THE AUTHOR'S JOURNEY TO GALGALA

HAVING resolved with myself ever since my first setting out, to see the court and camp of the Great Mogul, who is one of the greatest princes in Asia, without regarding danger or expense, though friends several times endeavoured to dissuade me, by representing the many hazards and hardships I must meet with in travelling over rugged mountains, and among pagan and Mahometan princes, yet I held my first purpose, and resolved to venture upon it whatsoever happened. In order to it, I hired a Begarine, or Canarine of St. Stephen, a village near Goa, to carry my provision for some days, and utensils for dressing of meat; being sure to find nothing by the way, and because he spoke not the language of the Moguls, I took a boy of Golconda; who, besides his mother tongue, had learned Portuguese, to be my interpreter there. This done, I committed my baggage to F. Hippolito Visconti, a Milanese, and regular clergy-man of the Theatins, desiring him, during my absence, to change my money into pieces of eight, to serve me, when I came back, in my voyage to China; carrying along with me no more than was just necessary for my journey, as I was advised by F. Galli, who told me it would be all taken from me on the mountains by the custom-house officers; and that when his money was gone, they had taken from him the very andora.

Friday 4th, the porter and interpreter coming to tell me all was ready, I set out, leaving my own servant in the monastery, that I might have the less to care for. I found the pass of Daugim, where I was to take boat for Ponda, was stopped by order of the archbishop, who governing during the viceroy's absence, had directed that no person should be suffered to pass into the infidel's country, without his particular leave. Therefore leaving the porter and interpreter to look to my things, I went in a boat to speak to that prelate at his little country-house, where he presently gave me a pass under his own hand. Then taking another boat about noon, I coasted along the city wall on the channel, passing at the end of four miles, by the Fort of St.

Blase, on which there are eight pieces of cannon; and two miles further, by the castle of St James, where there are twelve guns. Here showing the governor my pass, he gave me leave to cross the channel into the Mogul's country

We stayed a long while in a cottage belonging to the guards, there being neither man nor beast to be found, to carry the baggage of an Armenian, and a Moor that had joined me. At last, seeing night drew on, we forced some gentiles of the village of Arcolna to carry them. There being nothing to be bought in this place, the Armenian, and the Moor made shift with a little rice half boiled, and so little of it that the grains swam on the water, which afterwards served them for drink. I passed the night under some coco-trees without sleep, because of the great noise of drums, and cries of the idolaters, who celebrated the feast of Shimga, at the full moon

Saturday 5th, before we set out, the Armenian and Moor filled their bellies with khichari, which is a composition of rice, kidney-beans, and lentils pounded and boiled together, as was said, at the end of our second part For want of beasts to carry my luggage to Ponda, which was twelve miles off, I took three gentiles; and was forced against my will to make use of a cudgel upon them, because they will never do good service either for fair words, or money, but run away as soon as they can; and on the other side, when thrashed, they will load themselves like asses.

The sun was so hot, that at very short distances we were obliged to rest, and refresh us with melons, and fruit of the country. At Mardol it took us up much time to eat a jacca, which was so large, that a man could scarce carry it The idolaters would eat none of it, for they will not taste anything that is cut by us, though starving for hunger; and I was told some of them had been so obstinate, as to continue five days without eating on this account

In this village of Mardol, there is a famous pagoda. The way into the court is over a covered bridge of three arches, up to which there are two staircases. On the right of this court is an octangular structure consisting of seven rounds of small columns, with handsome capitols, and little windows in the intervals, one of which serves for a door. They say this was built to put lights in

on the festivals of their idols, as was the other place, like it, on the left, not yet finished. About the porch, and before the arches of the aforesaid bridge, there are several shops, but all is gone to ruin since the Mogul has taken that country from the king of Byâpur, on account of the wars with Shivaji. The pagoda is at the further end of the court. The first room is like a little hall, longer than it is broad, the roof supported by six small wooden columns on each side, curiously carved with figures on them; about them there are low branches to sit down. Within it is another room, like the first, but less, and further on upon the right is a little room curiously painted, with several figures, which have on their heads, some of them pyramidal caps, and others a crown like that the Pope wears. There is also a figure with four hands, two whereof hold a staff, one a looking-glass, and the other rests on its side; by it stand women with five vessels on their heads, one upon another. There are besides several monsters, beasts and birds; as flying horses, cocks, peacocks, and others. The pagoda stands opposite to the door in a little dark round room, at the foot of a small tower, where there is a carved stone covered like a tomb. There is a winding way on the outside up to the top of the tower, and to the chambers of the idolatrous priests. One side of the second room I mentioned, before a little door stood the bier they use to carry their idol in procession. On the same side is another pagoda shut up, with a cistern before it, covered with a cupola, and has a small room in the middle. Behind the aforesaid pagoda, is one of those trees they call of the Banians, and under it the bath, or pool, with large stone-steps about it for the gentiles to go down, and wash them of their uncleanness.

Setting forward again, after travelling a long time over mountains and plains, I came late, and very weary to Ponda. There I found a small camp of the Mogul's forces, and among them Francis de Miranda, born in the island of Salsette, who received me very civilly. He had served there as a soldier of fortune sixteen years, with the pay of 75 rupees of silver a month, which are worth 45 crowns of Naples. Those troops were come that same day from Bicholim, with the divan, or receiver of the king's revenue of Ponda, and above 700 villages, who has 7,000 rupees a month, and 1,000 horse under him,

whose pay is a rupee a day, he was to take possession of the government of the lower fort of Ponda, and of the office of suba, of that territory, which among us is like a major general, and this because the true governor had sent some of his soldiers to Bicholim, to commit acts of hostility against the divan, so that there had been men killed and wounded on both sides. Ikhlas-Khan Pani-suba refusing to obey, unless he were first paid what was due to his soldiers, and the more, because the divan had no commission from the king, but only a letter of advice from his solicitor, therefore the two parties contended, and threatened one another. The divan now said he would drive him out of his fort with the cannon from the upper; when on Sunday 6th, about sun-setting there was heard a confused noise of drums and trumpets, such that I taking it for a warlike sound, laid hold of my gun, but it was for the coming of a messenger sent by the king, who brought the divan a vest, and commission for both employments.

Seven hundred horse and foot stood at their arms before the divan's tent, and two companies of sixteen gentiles each danced confusedly to the sound of drums, fifes, and trumpets. It being then a sort of carnival those people observe every year for five days, they went about like mad-men, in red vests, and little turbans of the same colour called chiras, throwing red dust upon all they met to die them; as we use among us to do with black dust.

The divan, who was a grey headed old man about sixty-five years of age, mounted a horse-back, with a pair of kettle-drums a horse-back, before him, and followed by a palanquin, another pair of kettle-drums on a camel, and a medley of horse and foot naked, who went in a disorderly manner, like so many goats. They had several colours, some of calico, with a trident on them, and some of silk, with Persian characters and flames in the middle, all carried by foot soldiers. The divan being come to a tent, erected for that purpose near a mosque, two musket-shot from his own, he alighted, and after passing some compliments with the king's messenger, and persons of note that were with him, put on the chira himself on his head, whilst the messenger held the sash to him. Then the latter took a vest, or garment of green silk, with gold stripes, and

put it on the divan, and then two sashes about his neck, his scimiter hanging by his side. The divan laid his hand on the ground five times, and as often on his head, in thanksgiving to the king who had honoured him with that present. Then sitting down, his friends and retinue came to congratulate with him, and some to present him with rupees, which he gave to the messenger, but they were very few. They call this present *nazar*, that is, a goodly sight, and the custom is derived from the coronation of kings, when the noble men present a great deal of gold coin, and some pieces weighing above three hundred ounces, to rejoice the Mogul that day, who sits on a throne studded with jewels of an excessive value. When the solemnity was over, the divan mounted a horse-back, and alighted again by the pool near the mosque, where sitting on a carpet with pillows at his back, he diverted himself with the singing and music of the masked gentiles. I was told this honour cost him 20,000 rupees (each of them worth six carlines of Naples) which he sent the secretary, who had passed the commission in the king's name, for he never writes to his subjects. For all this the suba would not deliver up his post, but keeping possession of the lower fort, said it was all counterfeit.

The city Ponda is made up of cottages, and mud houses seated in the midst of many mountains. The fort which is also of earth, and governed by the suba, has a garrison of about 400 horse and foot, and seven small pieces of cannon. There was formerly another fort on a higher ground, but D. Francis de Tavora, viceroy of Goa, besieging it twelve years before this time with a body of 10,000 men, in a short time made a large breach in it. Shivaji, to whom it belonged, coming to the relief of it with 12,000 horse, obliged the viceroy to raise his siege, and draw off. Then he went over to the island of Salsette, St. Stephen, and others near Goa and having plundered and burned several places, carried many hundreds of the natives captives into his own country, and making them carry the stones of the fort that had been demolished to the top of a hill two miles from Ponda southward, built the small fort now standing, calling it Mardongar, that is, the fort of valiant men. This castle is held for the king, by a garrison of 300 men, under a kiladar, or

castellan, who has 200 rupees a month pay, assigned him out of certain villages. It being a place held upon oath, he may not upon any account go out of the gate.

The lower fort, and country depending on it, taken from Shivaji by the Great Mogul, is governed as was said by a suba, or general of the field, who receives the revenue of above 700 villages, being therefore obliged to maintain a certain number of soldiers; so that he drains the poor country people, making a few cottages sometimes pay thousands of rupees.

Monday 7th, I saw the dismal spectacle of a wretched pagan woman, the kindred of her dead husband had obtained at the price of great presents from the suba, to be burned with the dead body, according to their wicked unmerciful custom. In the afternoon the woman came out well clad, and adorned with jewels, as if she had gone to be married, with music playing, and singing. She was attended by the kindred of both sexes, friends and Bramen priests. Being come to the place appointed, she went about undaunted, taking leave of them all; after which she was laid all along, with her head on a block, in a cottage twelve spans square, made of small wood wet with oil, but bound to a stake, that she might not run away with the fright of the fire. Lying in this posture, chewing betel, she asked of the standers by, whether they had any business by her to the other world; and having received several gifts, and letters from those ignorant people, to carry to their dead friends, she wrapped them up in a cloth. This done, the Bramen, who had been encouraging of her came out of the hut, and caused it to be fired, the friends pouring vessels of oil on her, that she might be the sooner reduced to ashes, and out of pain. Francis de Miranda told me, that as soon, as the fire was out, the Bramens would go gather all the melted gold, silver, and copper. This barbarous action was performed a mile from Ponda.

When I returned to my tent, the camp had a false alarm, on account of one Moor's cutting of another's nose. Some gentiles fled upon the mountains, and so did Miranda, leaving all he had behind, and I endeavouring to persuade him to stay, he answered, he must do as the rest did. Taking my gun, powder and ball, I stood under a tree to defend myself. Miranda's cook in the meanwhile laughed at his master's cowardice, saying, what

a brave soldier the Mogul has, to allow him two rupees and a half a day. If he flies now nobody pursues, what will he do when he sees an enemy? Here I saw them drink the juice of an herb they call bhang, which, mixed with water, stupefies like opium. To this purpose they keep it in glass bottles of a violet colour, made on the mountains of ghats, in the Mogul's territories, and in China.

There being no other conveniency of carriage all the way I was to go, but on oxen, I bought a horse at Ponda for sixty rupees. Having got a pass from the bakhshi, that I might not be stopped by the guards on the frontiers, and leaving my gun to be sent to Goa, that I might not be made prisoner by Shivaji's men, I set out on Tuesday 8th, and travelling eight miles came to Ciampon, a village of a few mud houses, with a fort of the same sort. Here I caused some meat to be dressed, but my porter going about to take a fig-leaf to make use of instead of a dish, after the manner of India, the heathen woman to whom the fig-tree belonged, and the rest of the people, who came to her assistance, made such a noise, that we were forced to depart. We travelled through woods, as we had done before, and at last getting out of them, crossed over an arm of the sea in a small boat, and entered the territory of a pagan prince called Sonde-kirani-Karaja, lord of some villages among the mountains, but tributary and subject to the Great Mogul, being obliged to serve him in his wars. At the end of two cosses (each cosse is two Italian miles) we lay at the village of Cacora, consisting of a few cottages under the arch of a pagoda. At the upper end of it, under a small cupola, was a thing like a chamber-pot of copper, on a stone pedestal, with a uizor like a man's face of the same metal nailed to it. Perhaps it might be an urn containing the ashes of some hero of theirs. In the midst of the little cupola hung a small bell and without many small lights.

At night, troops of monkeys came leaping from one tree to another; and some of them with their young ones so close hugged under their belly, that though we threw many stones at them, we could not fetch down one, nor did they fly any further than from one tree to another. The inhabitants of these villages being for the most part gentiles (for in India there is



a caravan of above three hundred oxen loaded with provisions for the camp at Galgala. The woods we passed through abounded in fruit, quite different from any in Europe. There were not unpleasant, and among the rest one sort they call gu which tastes like an European wild fig, and grows and ripens without any blossom at the body of the tree. That day I saw some wild hens, which I had never seen before, with a crest of feathers that inclined to black. At first I thought they had been tame, but was afterwards undeceived, there being never a hen for many miles about. Having travelled fourteen cosses, we came two hours before sun-set to the village of Bomanhalli, belonging to the same Prince Kirani, where though there was a garrison called chauki, they took nothing of me; perhaps because the chief of it was not so barbarous as the rest.

The road I travelled on Friday 11th, was through open woods in which there were iron mines. Having gone six cosses we came to the village of Ciamkan, where there was a market and custom-house kept by the gentiles, who search my luggage. I lay four cosses further at Sambrani. In this place resides the aforementioned Prince Sonde-Kirani-Karaja. His fort made of earth, encompassed with walls seven spans high. The village is nothing better than the rest of that territory, but it has a good market or bazar. The prince makes tribute of lecches of rupees, that is 1,80,000 Neapolitan crowns a year from this only village, by which the reader may judge how cruel the idolaters and Mahometans oppress the people with heavy taxes.

Setting out late on Saturday 12th, after four miles' travel we came into the Mogul's territories. Having passed the Prince Kirani's last guards on the road, I rested till noon near the fort of the town of Alcal; but being ready to set forwards I was informed the road I was to go was infested with robbers, therefore I resolved to stay for the bojata. At this place there was a pagoda, and in it an idol with a human body, but the face of a monkey, and a vast long tail winding about to the back of its head, with a little bell hanging at the end of it. One hand was on its side, and the other lifted up as it were to strike. They call it the Hanumanta monkey, because according to the fabulous traditions of those people, he once fought with much bravery

When I perceived nobody took notice of me, I used to break all the idols that came in my way, especially those the peasants, that conducted the *bojata*, carried hanging about their necks, wrapped up in a cloth, which were of stone, ill shaped, and weighing 2 pounds.

Sunday 13th, I set out four hours before day with the caravan of oxen, and at the end of six cosses came to Kakeri, a village consisting of a few houses, where I dined. Then I went five long cosses further and lay at the village of Itgi which though made up of cottages has excellent land for tillage and sport, the stages and other game feeding about tamely.

Monday 14th, setting out early with another *bojata*, at the end of five cosses all the way a fertile soil, I stopped at Tıgdı a small town defended by a fort of earth, and after dinner proceeded to the little village of Vanur.

Tuesday 15th, I travelled five cosses through a country full of green and delightful trees to Mamdapur, a city made up of mud houses and enclosed with a low wall, but has a good fort of lime and stone on a hill. After dinner I went two cosses further to Betgeri a walled town, where I lay.

It is far different travelling through the Mogul's country, than through Persia or Turkey, for there are no beasts for carriage to be found, nor caravanserais at convenient distances, nor provisions, and what is worse there is no safety from thieves. He therefore that has not a horse of his own must mount upon an ox, and besides that inconveniency, must carry along with him his provision and utensils to dress it, rice, pulse and meal being only to be found in great towns inhabited by the Mogulstans. At night the clear sky will be all a man's covering, or else a tree. Add to all this the great danger of life and goods, by reason of the excursions Shivaji's soldiers make quite as far as the camp at Galgala. Besides, the Moguls themselves are such crafty thieves, that they reckon a traveller's money and clothes their own, and they will keep along with him many days till his security gives them an opportunity to rob him at their ease. Sometimes one of them will pretend to be a traveller that is going the same way, and bears a stranger company, that he may rob him with more safety, for when he lies down to sleep the other artificially lets down a noose from

the top of a tree, and drawing him up a little way slips down to dive into his purse. Had not very powerful motives pressed me forwards to see the court of so great a king, I should not easily have exposed myself to so many dangers and hardships. It is true that excepting only this of Bijapur, which is continually harassed with wars, the other kingdoms subject to the Great Mogul are not so inconvenient for travelling; especially about Surat, and Ahmedabad, where necessaries for life are to be had.

Wednesday 16th, having travelled three cosses I passed through a village called Kalligudi, where at a dear rate I tasted ripe grapes of Europe; and three cosses further came to Yadvad, the biggest city I saw in that short journey. Within the first enclosure it has a stone fort ill built, and a bazar, in the second a fort with a garrison and houses about it made of mud and straw. All the merchants that come from the southern parts to sell their goods use to stay here, and afterwards go over to the camp at Galgala like retailers. When I passed that way this city was actually infested with the plague.

After dinner I went five cosses further to the town of Mudhol, seated on the left hand of a river, a matter of great consideration on a road where I sometimes drank water muddied by the cattle. There is a mud fort, as are the walls of the town, nor do the cottages of the natives deserve better fortifications. As I was getting off my horse I fell so violently upon my side that I could not breath for a quarter of an hour, and was in some danger of death, I was ill of it many days after, though I blooded, and used other remedies.

## 2. THE AUTHORS'S ARRIVAL AT GALGALA, WHERE THE GREAT MOGUL WAS ENCAMPED

THURSDAY 17th, after riding five cosses I passed through a walled town called Mantur, and two cosses further to the village of Galgala where the Mogul's camp was. Crossing the

river Krishna I came into the quarters of the Mahometans called *laskaris*, and some Christian soldiers of Agra entertained me

Friday 18th, I went to the Christian gunner's quarter to hear Mass, and found a convenient chapel of mud walls, served by two Canarine priests, maintained by the Catholics. After Mass Francis Borgia by extraction a Venetian but born at Delhi, invited me to his house. He being captain of the Christians, an hour after caused two Mahometans that had made themselves drunk to be cruelly beaten before me, bound to a stake. When they were set loose, they returned him thanks for chastising them, laying their hands on the ground first, and then on their heads, after the country fashion.

That same day the king put the question to the qazi, or judge of the law, whether it was more for God's service to go fight his enemies to spread the Mahometan sect, or else to go over to Bijapur to keep the Ramzan, or their Lent. The qazi required time to answer, which pleased the Mogul, who was a great dissembler and hypocrite, and never did as he said.

Saturday 19th, I went to Gulalbar (so they call king's quarters) and found the king was then giving audience, but there was such a multitude and confusion that I could not have a good sight of him. The king's and prince's tents took up three miles in compass, and were defended every way with palisadoes, ditches and five hundred falconets. There were three gates into them one for the harem or women, and two for the king and his court.

I was told the forces in this camp amounted to 60,000 horse, and 1,000,000 foot, for whose baggage there were 50,000 camels, and 3,000 elephants, but that the sutlers, merchants and artificers were much more numerous, the whole camp being a moving city containing 500,000 souls, and abounding not only in provisions, but in all things that could be desired. There were 250 bazars or markets, every omrah, or general having one to serve his men. In short the whole camp was thirty miles about.

These omrahs are obliged to maintain a certain number of horse and foot at their own expense, but the Mogul assigns them the revenues of countries and provinces, whilst they continue

in that post. Some of them make a million and a half a year of these jagirs, or feofs; others less, according to the number of soldiers they are to maintain. But the princes of the blood have the best, some of which are worth a million and a half of rupees a month. They are not only obliged to serve in war, but to attend the king at all times, though he only goes abroad to divert him. To this purpose they all keep spies at court, for upon every failure a gari is taken from them, which is 3,900 rupees, or less proportionably to every man's pay.

Though these generals are in so fair a way to heap wealth; yet when they are found faulty, as keeping a smaller number of soldiers than is their quota they are punished by pecuniary mulcts. And though they should combine with the commissaries that muster them, it would avail but little: Because when they die the exchequer is their heir, and only a bare subsistence is allowed the wife, and for the children they say the king will bestow more riches on them, than he did on their father, whensoever their faithful services shall deserve it. These generals command every one his own troops, without being subordinate to another, only obeying a lieutenant of the king's, when he is not there in person, called *Divan-i-mutlaq*, who receives the king's orders, to communicate them to the generals. Hence it is that they being lazy and undisciplined, go upon service when they please, and there is no great danger. Many Frenchmen belonging to the army, told me it was a pleasure and diversion to serve the Mogul, because they that will not fight, or do not keep their guards are subject to no other penalty, but losing that day's pay, that they are convicted of having transgressed; and that they themselves did not value honour much in the service of a barbarous king, who has no hospital for the wounded men. On the other side there being no prince in the world that pays his soldiers better, a stranger that goes into his service soon grows rich, especially an European or Persian; but once in, it is a very hard matter to get a discharge to go home to enjoy what is got, any other way than making an escape. The country not affording so many horses as are requisite for so great an army, they bring them out of Persia, and Arabia, some at 1,000, or 2,000 rupees purchase, and the lowest at 400. And because no barley grows in Indostan they give them four pounds

of boiled lentils a day, and in winter they add half a pound of butter, and as much sugar, four ounces of pepper, and some dry straw. With the author's leave, he seems here to impose upon the reader, or be himself imposed upon worse than Tavernier was with the Crabs.

It is also a vast expense to maintain so great a number of elephants, for every one of them eats at least 140 pounds of corn every day, besides leaves, green canes, sugar and pepper so that the king allows 7 rupees a day for every one. He has 3,000 throughout his empire, and three general elephants. Each of these has half a million of rupees allowance a month which are spent in keeping 500 other elephants that are under him, and 200 men that look to them. At this time there were but 500 belonging to the king in the field, besides those belonging to the princes and omrahs, who keep some 400, some 200, and others more or less.

Sunday 20th, going to the tents of the king's eldest son, whose name was Shah Alam, I found about 2,000 soldiers horse and foot drawn up, expecting the prince, who came from his father's quarters. Waiting I saw his son come out and mount a horse-back to go meet his father, as soon as he saw him he alighted in token of respect. Shah Alam was 65 years of age, tall, and full bodied, with a thick long beard, which began to be grey. Having such a title to the crown, many thousands of the soldiers are of his faction, who being imprisoned, continued resolute, refusing to receive any other pay, notwithstanding he relieved them but meanly.

Monday 21st, by the means of a Christian of Agra, and an eunuch his friend I had the fortune to be admitted to a private audience of the king. In the first court of the king's quarters, which had two doors, in a large tent I saw kettle-drums, trumpets eight spans long, and other instruments, which use to sound at certain hours of the day and night, according as occasion requires, and that day made their noise before noon. There was also a gold ball between two gilt hands, hanging by a chain, the king's ensign, which is carried on the elephants, when they march. I passed on into the second court, and then into the royal tents, and king's apartments, adorned with silks and cloth of gold. Finding the king in one of these rooms, sitting

after the country manner, on rich carpets, and pillars embroidered with gold, having made my obeisance after the Mogul fashion, I drew near, the same Christian being my interpreter. He asked me of what kingdom of Europe I was, how long I had been come thence, where I had been, and what I came to his camp for, whether I would serve him, and whither I designed to go? I answered accordingly, that I was a Neapolitan, and came thence two years before, during which time I had seen Egypt, the grand signior's dominions, and the Persian monarchy, that I was now come into his camp, only out of curiosity to see the greatest monarch in Asia, as his majesty was, and the grandeur of his court and army, that I should have reckoned it a great honour to serve him, did not affairs of the greatest importance call me home, after seeing the empire of China. He then asked me concerning the war betwixt the Turk and European princes in Hungary, and having answered to the best of my knowledge, he dismissed me, the time of the public audience drawing near. I returned into the second court, enclosed with painted calicoes, ten spans high all about. Here on the side next the king's apartment, the tent to give audience in, was supported by two great poles, being covered on the outsides with ordinary red stuff, and with finer within, and small taffeta curtains. Under this tent was a square place, raised four spans above the ground, enclosed with silver banisters, two spans high, and covered with fine carpets. Six spans further in the middle was another place raised a span higher, at the angles whereof there were 4 poles, covered with silver reaching to the top of the tent. Here stood the throne, which was also square, of gilt wood, three spans above the rest, to get up to it there was a little silver footstool. On it there were three pillows of brocade, two to serve on the sides, and one at the back. Soon after the king came leaning on a staff forked at the top, several omrahs and abundance of courtiers going before him. He had on a white vest tied under the right arm, according to the fashion of the Mahometans, to distinguish them from the gentiles, who tie it under the left. The cira or turban of the same white stuff, was tied with a gold web, on which an emerald of a vast bigness, appeared amidst four little ones. He had a silk sash, which covered the katar or Indian dagger hanging on the left. His shoes were after the

Moorish fashion, and his legs naked without hose. Two servants put away the flies, with long, white horse-tails, another at the same time keeping off the sun, with a green umbrella. He was of a low stature, with a large nose, slender, and stooping with age. The whiteness of his round beard, was more visible on his olive coloured skin. When he was seated they gave him his scimiter, and buckler, which he laid down on his left side within the throne. Then he made a sign with his hand for those that had business to draw near, who being come up, two secretaries standing, took their petitions, which they delivered to the king, telling him the contents. I admired to see him indorse them with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seem to be pleased with the employment.

In the meanwhile the elephants were reviewed, that the king might see what condition they were in, and whether the omrahs, they were committed to, manage them well. When the cornaccia (that is he who rides them) had uncovered the elephants crupper, for the king to view it, he made him turn his head towards the throne, and striking him on it three times, made him do his submission as often, by lifting up and lowering down his trunk. Then came Shah Alam's son and grandson, who having twice made their obeisance to the king, each time putting their hand to the ground, on their head, and on their breast, sat down on the first floor of the throne on the left. Then Azam Shah the king's son coming in, and making the same submissions, he sat down on the second step, which we said was raised above the other. These princes wore silk vests with flowers of several colours, ciras adorned with precious stones, gold collars, jewels, rich sashes, scimiters, and bucklers hanging by their sides. Those that were not of the blood royal, made three obeisances.

On the right hand without the tent, stood 100 musketeers and more mace-bearers, who had clubs on their shoulders with silver globes at the ends. These were clad in cloth of several colours. There were also several porters with staves in their hands, that no person might go in without being introduced.

On the left of the tent were the royal ensigns held up on spears by nine persons, clad in vests of crimson velvet, all adorned with gold, and with wide sleeves, and sharp collars



hanging down behind. He that stood in the middle held a sun; the two on his sides two gilt hands; next them stood two others, each holding two horses' tails died red. The other four had the spears covered, so that there was no seeing what they held. Without the enclosure of the royal tents, several companies and troops of horse and foot stood at their arms, and elephants with vast standards, and kettle-drums on them, which were beaten all the time. When the audience was over, the king withdrew in the same order he came out; so did the princes, some getting into palanquins, and others mounting stately horses, covered with gold and precious stones. The omrahs, who had stood all the while, returned also to their tents, followed by many elephants, some with seats on them and some with colours flying, and attended by two troops of horse, and two companies of foot. The kotwal, who is like a provost-marshal against thieves, rode with a great trumpet of green copper, eight spans long, carried before him by a Moor afoot. That foolish trumpet made me laugh; because it made a noise much like that our swine-herds make, to call together their swine at night.

### 3. THE ARTIFICES AND CRUEL PRACTICES OF THE MOGUL NOW REIGNING TO POSSESS HIMSELF TO THE EMPIRE

EXPERIENCE has long since made it notorious enough, that the succession of this great monarchy rather depends on force than right; and that, (if it so happen, that the sons expect their father's death) they at last determine the title of birth-right by the event of a battle, but this Mogul we have spoken of, added fraud to force, by which he destroyed not only his brothers, but his father.

When Shah Jahan had reigned forty years, more like a father than a king, being at the age of seventy years, fitter for anything than love; he became desperately amorous of a Moorish

young woman. His unruly passion prevailing, he gave himself up so entirely to her, beyond what became his age, that being reduced to extreme weakness, and despairing of his recovery, he shut himself up for three months in the harem, without showing himself to the people, according to custom. He had six children; four of them sons called, Dara, or Darius, the second Shuja, that is, valiant prince, the third Aurangzeb, that is, ornament of the throne, and the last Morad Baksh. The two daughters were Begum Saheb, that is, supreme princess, and Raushanara Begum, that is, lightsome princess, or light of princesses. They take these names, because there being no titles of earldoms, dukedoms, or the like, as is used in Europe, they cannot like our princes take the name of those lands, for they all belong to the king, who gives all those that serve him assignments at pleasure, or pay in ready money. For the same reason the omrahs' names are such as these, those that follow, thunderer, breaker of troops, faithful lord, the wise, the perfect, and the like.

Shah Jahan seeing his sons married, grown powerful, aspiring to the crown, and consequently enemies to one another, and in such a condition that it was impossible to shut them up in the inaccessible fortress of Gwahor, according to the ancient custom, after much thinking, for fear they should kill one another before his face, he resolved to remove them from court. He sent Sultan Shuja into the kingdom of Bengal; Aurangzeb into that of Deccan; Morad Baksh into Gujarat, and to Dara he gave Kabul and Multan. The three first went away well pleased, and acted like sovereigns in their governments, keeping to themselves all the revenues, and maintaining armies under colour of awing the subjects, and bordering princes. Dara, being the eldest, and designed for empire remained at court, where the father feeding him with hopes of the crown, permitted all orders to pass through his hands, and allowed him a throne below his own among the omrahs; for having offered to resign up the government to him, Dara refused it out of respect.

The report being spread abroad upon Shah Jahan's shutting himself up, that he was dead, his sons immediately armed to contend for their father's kingdom. The cunning fox Aurangzeb, whilst things were in this confusion, that he might the better

surprise his brother, gave out, that he had no pretensions to the crown, but had chosen to become a faquir, or poor, to serve God in peace. At the same time he writ to his brother Morad Baksh acquainting him that he had always been his real friend, and had no pretensions to the crown himself, being a professed faquir, but that Dara being unfit to reign, and a kafar or idolater; and Sultan Shuja a refesis or heretic, and enemy of his forefather's religion, and unworthy of the crown, he thought none but Morad deserved it, to whom all the omrahs being acquainted with his valour would willingly submit. As for himself, provided he would give him his word, that when he came to the throne, he would leave him in peace to pray to God in some corner of the kingdom the rest of his days, he would not only endeavour to assist him with his advice, but would join his forces with him to destroy his brother, in token whereof he sent him 1,00,000 rupees; advising him to come with all expedition to make himself master of the fort of Surat, where the treasure was. Morad Baksh, who was neither powerful nor rich, freely accepted his offer and money, and began immediately to act like a king, promising great rewards to those that would side with him; so that he raised a powerful army in a short time. Then giving the command of 3,000 men to Shahbaz, a valiant eunuch, he sent him to besiege the castle of Surat.

Dara would have relieved it, but forebore it to attend his father in his sickness, and curb Sultan Shuja, who after subduing the kingdom of Bengal, where he was governor, was advanced with a powerful army into the kingdom of Lahore. He sent his eldest son Sulaiman Shukoh against him with considerable forces; who routed his uncle, and drove him back into Bengal, and leaving good garrisons on the frontiers, he went back to his father Dara.

On the other side, Aurangzeb sent his son Sultan Mahmud, son-in-law to the king of Golconda, to Mir Jumla, who lay by order of Shah Jahan, at the siege of Kalyan, to desire him to meet him at Daulatabad, where he would communicate a matter of great moment to him. The Mir, who was well acquainted with Aurangzeb's artifices, excused himself, saying, his father was not yet dead; and that all his family was left at

Agra, in the hands of Dara, as hostages for his fidelity, for which reason he could not assist him without the ruin of what he held most dear. Having received this answer, Aurangzeb was no way discouraged, but sent Sultan Muazzam, his second son to the Mir, who managed things so well, that he persuaded him to go with him to Daulatabad, with the flower of his army, he having made himself master of Kalyan. Aurangzeb received him with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and honour; calling him Baba, and Babaji, that is, father, and lord and father, and after giving him an hundred embraces, taking him aside he told him, it was not reasonable that his family being in Dara's hands, he should venture to do anything for him publicly; but that on the other hand there was no difficulty but might be overcome. I will therefore propose a method to you, said he, which will not appear strange to you, when you think on the safety of your wife and children, which is, that you permit me to imprison you, which all the world will think is in earnest, believing you are no man that will take it in jest, and in the meanwhile I will make use of part of your troops, of your cannon, and some of your money, which you have so often offered me, and will try my fortune. The Mir, either because he was a sworn friend to Aurangzeb, or on account of the great promises he had made him at other times, or else by reason he saw Sultan Muazzam well armed standing by him, and Sultan Mahmud looking upon him with a stern countenance; submitted to all his will, suffering himself to be confined to a room. The news being spread abroad, his men ran to arms to rescue him, and being very numerous would have done it had not Aurangzeb appeased them with fair words, promises, and gifts, so that not only the Mir's troops, but most of Shah Jahan's seeing things in confusion, sided with him. Having therefore possessed himself of the Mir's tents, camels, and baggage, he marched to take Surat, but hearing within a few days that the governor had already surrendered it to Morad Baksh, he sent to congratulate with him, and tell him what had happened with Mir Jumla, what forces and money he had, and what secret intelligence at court, desiring him, that since he was to go from Burhanpur to Agra, he should endeavour to meet, and confer with him by the way.

This fell out to his mind, the two armies joining with much satisfaction. Aurangzeb made Morad Baksh fresh promises, protesting over again that he did not aspire to the crown; but only come to help raise him to the throne, in opposition to Dara, their common enemy. They both moved towards Burhanpur, where coming to a battle with the army of Shah Jahan, and Dara, which came to hinder them passing the river Ujjain; the generals, Qasim and Cham, and Jaswant Singh were overthrown by the valour of Morad, with the slaughter of 8,000 Rajputs.

Morad Baksh flushed with the success of the battle, coveted nothing but fighting, using all possible means to overtake the enemy, whilst Aurangzeb grown vain, encouraged his soldiers, giving out he had 30,000 Moguls of his party among Dara's forces. Having taken some rest, they fought the second battle at Samugarh, where Morad Baksh, though wounded by the general Ram Singh Rathor, fighting courageously killed him. Whilst the event of the battle was still dubious, the traitor Khaliullah Khan, who commanded 30,000 Moguls, with whom he might have routed the enemy, did not only go over to Aurangzeb, but falsely persuaded Dara to come down from his elephant, and get a horse-back, and this to the end that the soldiers not seeing him, might suppose he was killed, and so dismay them. It fell out as he designed, for being all seized with fear, they fled to escape Aurangzeb. Thus Dara on a sudden lost the victory he had almost gained, and was overthrown; and seeing himself forsaken, was forced to fly to save his life. So that it may be said, that Aurangzeb by continuing stedfast on his elephant, secured to himself the crown of Indostan; and Dara was thrown out of the throne by coming down from his. A diversion fortune often takes, to make the greatest victories depend on the most contemptible accidents. The unhappy Dara returning to Agra in despair, durst not appear before his father, who, when he took his leave, had said to him, Be sure Dara never to come into my sight unless victorious. Nevertheless the good old man did not omit to send to comfort him, and assure him of his affection.

Four days after, Aurangzeb, and Morad Baksh came to a garden a small league from the fort of Agra; and thence sent an

ingenious and trusty eunuch to pay their respects to Shah Jahan, and to tell him they were very much troubled at all that had happened, being compelled to it by Dara's ambition, but were most ready to obey his commands. Shah Jahan, though he well knew how eager his son was to reign, and that there was no trusting to his fair words, yet showed a good countenance to the eunuch, designing to entrap Aurangzeb, without coming to open force, as was then proper to have done. But he, who was thorough skilled in all frauds, took his father in the same snare, for putting off the visit from day to day, which had been agreed upon between them by the eunuch, spent the meantime in gaining the affections of the omrahs underhand. When he thought things were ripe, he sent his eldest son Sultan Mahmud to the fort, on pretence to speak to Shah Jahan from him. This bold young prince coming to the gate, fell with his men that lay in readiness upon the guards, and putting them to flight, went resolutely in, and made himself master of the walls. Shah Jahan perceiving he was fallen into the snare he had laid for his son, tried to bribe Sultan Mahmud with the offer of the crown, but he, without being moved, carried the keys of the fort to his father, who made the same governor I'tibar Khan, governor of it. He presently shut up the old king with his daughter Begum Saheb, and all the women, so that he could neither speak nor write to anybody, much less go out of his apartment. As soon as this was done, all the omrahs were obliged to make their court to Aurangzeb, and Morad Baksh, and to declare for the first of them. He being now well established, took what he thought fit out of the king's treasure, and leaving his uncle Shaista Khan governor of the city, went away with Morad Baksh in pursuit of Dara.

The day they were to set out of Agra, Morad Baksh's friends, and particularly his eunuch Shah Abbas, told him, that since he was king, and Aurangzeb himself gave him the title of majesty, he should send him against Dara, and stay himself with his troops about Agra and Delhi. But he had so much confidence in his brother's promises, and in the mutual oath of fidelity they had taken to one another upon the Al-coran, that despising all good counsel, he set out towards Delhi, with Aurangzeb. At Mathura, four days' march from Agra, his friends again

endeavoured to convince him, that his brother had ill designs in his head, and advised him to forbear visiting him, though it were but that day upon pretence of indisposition; but he continuing incredulous, and in a manner infatuated with his sweet words, did not only go, but stayed to sup with him. The false wretch showed him all manner of kindness, even to the wiping off his sweat with his handkerchief, always talking to him as king, and giving him the title of majesty; but as soon as he saw him overcome by the fumes of Shiraz, and Kabul wine, he arose from table, and encouraging his brother to carry on the debauch with Amir Khan, and other officers there present, went away, as if he had gone to take his rest. Morad Baksh, who loved drinking, making himself drunker than he was, at length fell asleep; which was what Aurangzeb expected, in order to take away his scimiter, and jamdhar, or dagger. Then returning into the room, he began to upbraid him in these words, What a shame, what a disgrace is this! for a king as you are to be so debauched, as to make himself thus drunk? What will the world say of you, and of me? Let this base man, this drunkard be bound hands, and feet, and shut up to digest his wine. This was immediately executed, and Morad Baksh's commanders being offended at his imprisonment, Aurangzeb pacified them with gifts and promises, and took them all into his pay. His unfortunate brother was shut up in an amari, which is a little wooden house they set on an elephant to carry women, and so conveyed to Delhi, to the little fort of Salimgarh, seated in the middle of the river.

Having secured Morad Baksh, he pursued Dara; leaving Sultan Mahmud, and Mir Jumla to destroy Sultan Shuja. But Mahmud aspiring to those things he ought not yet to have aimed at, and being naturally proud, fell at variance with Mir Jumla, about commanding in chief, which he pretended to belong to him alone; and now and then let slip some words of contempt and threatening against him, and such as did not become a dutiful son. Then fearing that his father on account of his ill behaviour had given orders to the Mir to secure him; he withdrew with a few followers to Sultan Shuja, making him great promises, and swearing to be faithful; but he fearing some contrivance of Aurangzeb, and the Mir, caused all his

actions to be observed; so that Mahmud in a few months returned to the Mir's camp. Others say it was a project of Aurangzeb's, to send him to his uncle, to ruin them both, or at least a specious pretence to make sure of him; because afterwards, besides the threatening letters he wrote to recall him to Delhi, he caused him to be arrested upon the river Ganges, and sent close shut up in an amari, to Gwalior.

Aurangzeb having performed this work, sent to warn his other son Sultan Muazzam to continue in his duty, unless he would be served in the same manner; because it was a nice point to reign, and kings ought to be jealous of their own shadows. Then going to Delhi, he began to act as king, and whilst the Mir pressed Shuja, who made a brave opposition, securing the passage of the river Ganges, he contrived to get Dara into his power by fraud, forcing him to quit Gujarat. He made the Raja Jaswant Singh write a letter to tell him, he would speak with him about a matter of great moment on the way to Agra. Dara, who had gathered an indifferent army, unadvisedly came out of Ahmedabad, and hasted to Ajmer, eight days' journey from Agra. Here too late discovering Jaswant Singh's treachery, and seeing no possibility of returning so soon to Ahmedabad, which was thirty-four days' journey distant, in summer, with scarcity of water, and through the hands of several rajas friends to Jaswant, he at last resolved, though he knew himself to be inferior in forces to fight him. In this battle Dara was betrayed, not only by Shah Nawaz Khan, but by all his officers, who fired his cannon without ball, so that he was forced to fly to save his life, and to cross all the countries of rajas there are from Ajmer to Ahmedabad; without tents, or baggage, in the hottest season, and with only 2,000 soldiers, who were most of them stripped by the kolis, peasants of the country, who are the greatest thieves in India. Being come with so much difficulty within a day's journey of Ahmedabad, the governor, who was corrupted by Aurangzeb, sent him word to come no nearer, for he would find the gates shut. Dara much concerned at this news, and not knowing what to resolve on, he bethought him of a powerful Pathan, called Jiwan Khan, whose life he had twice saved, when Shah Jahan had commanded him to be cast to the elephants for rebellion. Him he



proposed to repair to, notwithstanding his son Sipihir Shukoh, and his wife's dissuasions. Coming thither he was at first courteously received; but the next morning the false and ungrateful Pathan fell upon him with many armed men, and killing some soldiers that came to his assistance, bound him, his wife and son, seizing all their jewels, and money. Then setting him on an elephant, with an executioner behind, who was to kill him if he attempted to escape, he conducted him to the camp at Tatabakar, where he delivered him up to the general Mirbaba, who caused him to be carried in the same manner to Agra, and thence to Delhi. When he was come to the gate of that city, Aurangzeb, and his council differed in opinions, whether they should carry him through the city or not, in order to send him to Gwalior, and at last it was resolved to set him scurvily clad, with his wife and son, on a pitiful elephant, and so carry him through the city, with the infamous Pathan by him. In the meanwhile Aurangzeb was informed, that all the city was incensed against him, on account of his many cruelties; and misdoubting the first, he summoned his council, to determine whether it was better to send him to prison, or put him to death. Many were of the first opinion; but Dara's old enemies, especially Hakim Daud, a physician, flattering the tyrant's inclination, cried out aloud, it was convenient for the safety of the kingdom, that he should die, and the more because he was no Musulman, but a kafer, or idolater. Aurangzeb readily complied, immediately ordering that Sipihir Shukoh should be carried prisoner to Gwalior, and Dara put to death by the hands of a slave, called Nazar. He going in to execute the barbarous command, Dara, who was himself dressing some lentils for fear of poison, foreseeing what was coming upon him, cried out to his son, see he comes to kill me. Then taking a kitchen knife, he would have defended himself; but the executioner fell on, and throwing him down, cut off his head, which was carried to the fort to Aurangzeb, and he ordering it to be put into a dish, washed it with his own hands, to be sure it was his brother's, and when he found it was, began to lament, saying, Oh unhappy man; take it out of my sight, and let it be buried in the tomb of Humayun. At night he caused his daughters to be put into the seraglio, and afterwards

sent her to Shah Jahan, and Begum Saheb, who desired it, and Sipahr Shukoh was carried to Gwalior Jiwan Khan was rewarded for his treachery, but was killed in a wood as he returned home, to prove that men love the treason, but hate the traitor.

There was none left of Dara's family, but Sulaiman Shukoh, who was not easily to be drawn from Srinagar, had the raja kept his word, but the underhand practices of the Raja Jaswant Singh, the promises and threats of Aurangzeb, the death of Dara, and the neighbouring rajas made him break his faith Sulaiman understanding he was betrayed, fled over desert mountains, towards the Great Tibet, but the raja's son overtook, and stopped him, wounding him with a stone, after which he was conveyed to Delhi, where he was shut up in Salimgarh, with Morad Baksh, not without tears of all the omrahs.

Aurangzeb perceiving there were poems handed about in commendation of Morad Baksh's valour, it raised such a jealousy in him, that he presently contrived his death. Morad, at the beginning of war had killed one Saiyad, a very wealthy man at Ahmedabad, only to seize upon what he had. The tyrant made his sons appear in a full assembly, and demand that prince's head, in revenge for their father's death. Not one of the omrahs opposed it, as well because Saiyad was of Mahomet's family, as to comply with the will of Aurangzeb, whose invention they knew that was. Accordingly they were permitted without any manner of process to have Morad's head cut off, which was immediately performed at Gwalior.

There is now none left to oppose Aurangzeb, but only Sultan Shuja, who though he held out some time in Bengal, yet was at last forced to submit to his brother's power and good fortune, for the Mir Jumla pursuing him with his forces into the islands the Ganges makes near its mouth, forced him to fly to Dacca the last city of Bengal on the sea side. Here, having no ships to commit himself to the ocean, and not knowing which way to escape, he sent his eldest son Sultan Banque to the king of Arakan or Magh, a heathen prince, to pray him to give him protection for the present in his country, and in the proper season a vessel to carry him to Mokha, he having a mind to go to Mecca. The king of Arakan presently sent a number of jahas

or half galleys with Sultan Banque, and a civil answer as to the rest. Shuja went aboard with his women, and being brought to that king was well received, but when the season came he performed not his word of furnishing him a ship to go to Mecca; but appearing every day more cold to him, began to complain that Shuja did not visit him, and though Sultan Banque often made his court with great presents, yet it availed nothing. Then asking one of Sultan Shuja's daughters in marriage, and finding she was not immediately granted him, the barbarian was so enraged, that he obliged the poor fugitive prince to act a desperate part. He thought with 300 soldiers he brought from Bengal, and the assistance of the Mahometans of the country whom he had corrupted to break into the palace, kill all he found, and make himself king of Arakan; but the day before he was to put this in execution, the design was discovered, and he obliged to fly towards Pegu to save his life, though it was impossible to come thither by reason of the vast mountains and forests he was to pass through. That same day he was overtaken by the king's men, and though he defended himself with much bravery, killing a great number, yet so many fell upon him, that at last he was forced to submit to his fate. Sultan Banque who was not gone so far, made his defence too, but being hurt with stones, and encompassed on all sides, was taken, with two little brothers, a sister and his mother. As for Sultan Shuja himself there are different accounts; some say he was wounded on the mountains, only four of his men being left about him, and that an eunuch having dressed the wound on his head, he fled across the woods; others will have it that he was found among the dead, but not perfectly known; others that he was afterwards seen at Maslipatan, others near Surat; and others in fine that he was fled towards Persia; so that by reason of these different accounts, Aurangzeb one day in jest said that Shuja was turned pilgrim. The most received opinion is that he died in the fray, if he was not killed by robbers, or wild beasts, of which those forests are full. After this disaster all his family was imprisoned, and the king took his eldest daughter to wife; but another conspiracy of Sultan Banque being afterwards discovered, he was so enraged that he caused them all to be put to death, even to her that was his wife and with child. The men were put to the sword, and the women starved to death.

The unnatural war being thus at an end after it had lasted through the ambition of rule, among the four brothers from the year 1655 till 1660 Aurangzeb remained peaceable possessor of that vast empire, for after so much bloodshed and so many enormities committed, it was easy to cause himself to be declared king with the consent of all the great ones. The greatest obstacle he found was the grand qazi who was to put him in possession, and pleaded that according to the law of Mahomet and that of nature, no man could be declared king, whilst his father was yet living, much less Aurangzeb, who had put to death his elder brother Dara, to whom the crown belonged after the death of his father Shah Jahan. To overcome this difficulty he assembled the doctors of the law, and told them, that as for his father he was unfit to rule by reason of his age, and for his brother Dara's death he had caused him to be executed for contemning the law, by drinking wine, and favouring infidels. Adding threats to these reasons he made the Mahometan casuists agree, that he deserved the crown and ought to be declared king. The qazi still opposing him, he was deposed and another put in his place, who for the kindness received consented to all that was required of him. Aurangzeb accordingly coming to the mosque on the 20th of October 1660 seated himself on the richest throne that ever was seen in the world, being the same that was begun by Tamerlan and finished by Shah Jahan, receiving there the homage of all the great men, as is the custom of the country. Afterwards there was great rejoicing at Shahjahanabad and throughout all the kingdom.

Aurangzeb considering the heinousness of the crimes he had committed for the compassing of his ends, voluntarily imposed on himself a rigorous abstinence, not to eat for the future any wheaten-bread, fish, or flesh, and to live upon barley-bread, rice, herbs, sweetmeats and such things, nor to drink any sort of liquor but water.

Ambassadors from the prime princes of Asia and Africa came to his court to congratulate his accession to the crown, but he was much offended at the letter sent him by the king of Persia, upbraiding him with the murder of Dara, and imprisonment of Shah Jahan, as being actions unworthy a Musulman, and the

son and brother of a Musulman, and reflecting on him for the title he had assumed of Alamgir, that is, Lord of the World, concluded challenging him in these words, Since you are Alamgir, I send you a sword and horses that we may meet.

Shah Jahan died in the fort of Agra about the end of the year 1666, and Aurangzeb, who had long wished to be delivered from that continual reproach of his tyranny, went thither immediately to secure all his father's jewels. He received his sister Begum Sabeer into favour, because she having an influence over her father, being his wife and daughter, had preserved to him so many jewels of incredible value, when Shah Jahan offended that he had sent for them whilst he was living, to adorn the throne he had usurped, was about to reduce them to powder in a mortar. Besides she had given him much gold, and set out the mosque he went into before his entering the fort, with rich carpets. She was afterwards carried in honourable manner to Shahjahanabad, and there died, with suspicion of being poisoned.

If we now look back into the life of Shah Jahan, we shall find that he was punished by the hand of God as he had deserved, for the wrong he had done his nephew Bulaqi, usurping the crown from him.

Jahangir king of India son of Akbar, and grandson of Humayun, after having reigned twenty-three years peaceably was disturbed by the ambition of his sons, who thought that life lasted too long, which obstructed their getting into power. The eldest raised a mighty army about Lahore to possess his father's throne before it was his due; the king to punish his presumption marched against him with numerous forces, and defeating his troops, brought him away prisoner with those great men that had espoused his cause. But being of a merciful disposition and unwilling to imbrue his hands in the blood of his son, whom he could not but love, he was satisfied with holding a red hot iron to his eyes, and keeping him in that condition about him, designing to raise his son Sultan Bulaqi to the throne. But Sultan Khurram, who afterwards took the name of Shah Jahan, believing that he as second son to Jahangir, ought to be preferred in right before his nephew, resolved to leave no means unattempted to cast him down and raise himself, with-

out expecting his father's death. He concealed his wicked design under the cloak of a counterfeit obedience, till he gained his father's goodwill, and when he thought himself well grounded in his favour, desired he would give him leave to carry his blind brother into the kingdom of Deccan, where he was governor, saying, he should by this means take out of his sight a displeasing object, and his brother would live more peaceably. The king not diving into Khurram's design, consented to it; but he having got the poor prince into his hands, contrived to make him away in such manner, that no man could imagine he had been so cruel as to poison him. This done he changed his name into that of Shah Jahan, that is, King of the World, and raising a numerous army, set forward to make war on his father, who was justly provoked, and the more for his son's death. Jahangir went out in person with a great strength, against the wicked and ambitious Khurram, but age and grief to see himself so much wronged ended his days by the way, and made it easy for the other to compass his designs. However Jahangir before his death recommended his grandson Sultan Bulaqi to Asaf Khan, generalissimo of his army, and prime minister of state, and to all the great officers, commanding them when he was dead, to acknowledge none for their true and lawful sovereign but Bulaqi, and declaring Sultan Khurram a rebel, and incapable of succeeding in the throne. Besides he made them swear and particularly Asaf Khan, that they would never consent that Bulaqi should be put to death, which he afterwards faithfully performed, but not to settle him on the throne, having designed that for Shah Jahan his son-in-law. The death of Jahangir being known all the great men acknowledged the young Sultan Bulaqi for their king. Two of his cousins, soon perceiving the wicked design of Asaf Khan, were the cause of their own death, and his losing the crown, by discovering the secret to him; because he being unskilled in the mystery of reigning, asked the question of Asaf Khan himself, who having sworn he would ever be faithful to his king, privately contrived the death of the two princes. Then considering that the king having notice of the conspiracy, it was dangerous to defer the execution of it, and finding himself powerful in the number of his followers, he gave out that Shah

Jahan was dead, and his body would be carried to be laid at Agra, with the bones of Jahangir, as he had desired at his death. He himself brought the news to Bulaqi, persuading him when it was to be done to go two leagues out of Agra to meet the body, that honour being due to a prince of the blood though an enemy. Shah Jahan came himself in disguise when he was in sight of the army near Agra was laid on a bier and carried as if he were dead. All the principal commanders came with Asaf into the tent, where he was laid out, were to do honour to the dead prince, and when they saw the young king was come out of Agra, uncovering the bier, made Shah Jahan stand up in the presence of all the army, declaring him king with a loud voice, they and all the rest by their example swore fealty to him. Bulaqi receiving this bad news by the way, being in a consternation had no way of safety but in flying, which was easy to be done, because his enemies thought not proper to pursue him. He wandered through India a long time, becoming a faquir, but at last tired of that painful employment he retired into Persia, where he was nobly received and entertained by Shah Saffi. Shah Jahan being left without any rival, yet fearing the factions might be for the lawful king, by degrees put to death all those that were well affected to his nephew; making the first part of his reign famous for cruelty. Thus his being in his life deprived of his kingdom by his son, is to be looked upon as the just judgment of God, which the longer it is deferred the heavier it falls.

These are the methods of securing the throne of India, not found out by any ill custom of that people, but proceeding from the want of good laws, concerning the title of birthright. Therefore every prince of the blood thinks he has a sufficient claim to the crown, and exposing himself to the cruel necessity of overcoming to reign, sometimes involves an infinite number of lives in his own ruin, that another may be the more securely established.

#### 4. THE GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT MOGULS AND OTHER THINGS THE AUTHOR OBSERVED AT THAT COURT

THE vast empire of the Mogul, which in the Indian language signifies white, contains all the country between the rivers Indus and Ganges. It borders on the east with the kingdoms of Arakan, Tipperah, and Assam; on the west with Persia, and the Uzbeg Tartars; on the south of it is the great Indian Ocean, and some countries held by the Portugueses and other petty kings, and on the north it reaches to Mount Caucasus, and the country of Chughtai, on the north-east of it is the kingdom of Bhutan, whence the musk is brought. So that the length of it from Bengal to Kandahar is no less than six months' journey, and its breadth from north to south at least four.

The first that laid the foundation of this mighty monarchy was Tamerlan, otherwise called Teymur; who by his wonderful conquests from India to Poland, far surpassed the renown of all former commanders. He had one leg shorter than the other, and was therefore called the lame, and here we may take notice of his sharp saying to this effect, to Bayazid emperor of the Turks, whom he overthrew and took prisoner. Causing him to be brought into his presence the same day, and looking him steadily in the face he fell a laughing. Whereat Bayazid offended said, Do not laugh at my ill fortune Tamerlan, know that it is God who bestows kingdoms and empires, and that all that has befallen me today may happen to you tomorrow. Tamerlan without the least concern answered, I know very well Bayazid, that it is God who bestows kingdoms and empires. I do not laugh at your misfortune, but because considering your countenance, I perceived that these kingdoms and empires are very inconsiderable things with God, since he bestows them on such ugly fellows as we are, you a squinting clown, and I a lame wretch. Tamerlan was not of mean extraction, as some imagine, but of the race of Chungiz Khan, king of Tartary. He was born at Samarkand a country of Chughtai, or of the Uzbeg-Tartars, where he was afterwards buried.



Miran Shah his son succeeded him in the throne; his successor was his son Sultan Muhammad Mirza, and Muhammad Mirza Sultan Abu Said his son, who was killed by the Persians in the year 1469. Mirza Sultan Omar Shaikh son to him ascended the throne next, and died in 1495. The next was Shaikh's son, called Sultan Babar, which signifies brave prince, who in 1500 was dethroned by Shaibani Khan an Uzbek, but recovered the kingdom again after wandering a long time about India, and was the first Mogul that became so very powerful. He died in 1532.

His son Humayun, that is, the fortunate, succeeded him, who conquered the best and wealthiest kingdoms in India. Sher Khan his general rebelled and forced him to fly to the king of Persia; by whom being assisted with 12,000 men under the command of Bairam Khan, he defeated the rebel, and recovered his kingdom, then died in 1552.

After his death his son Jalal-ud-din commonly called Akbar ascended the throne. He reigned 54 years, and died in 1605, since the birth of Christ, and 1014, of the Mahometan epocha, leaving the kingdom to his son Sultan Salim, called by another name Jahangir Padishah, that is, conquering emperor of the world, at his death he left four sons, Sultan Khusrau, Sultan Khurram, Sultan Parwiz, and Shahriyar Daniel.

Sultan Khurram succeeded his father Jahangir, by means of the ill practices abovementioned and was acknowledged for their sovereign by the great men of the kingdom in the fort of Agra, by the name of Sultan Shahabuddin Muhammed, but he would be called Shah Jahan. Next to him came Aurangzeb ascending the throne of Indostan, through such cruel practices. He took the name of Aurangzeb-Alamgir, that is, Lord of the World, believing he possessed three parts of it. For this reason he carried as his peculiar ensign a golden-globe, and had it in his seal; and always tore off one corner of the paper he wrote on, to express that the fourth part of the world was not his. He added to his empire the kingdoms of Bijapur, and Golconda, the kings whereof he kept prisoners in my time, part of the territory of Shivaji, and of other petty principalities in Indostan.

Aurangzeb laboured to gain the reputation of being a strict observer of the Mahometan law, and a lover of justice. He

had so distributed his time that he could scarce ever be said to be idle. Some days in the week he bathed before break of day, then having prayed he eat something. After that having spent two hours with his secretaries, he gave public audience before noon, and then prayed again. This done he dined, and soon after gave audience again, when followed the third and fourth time of praying. Next he was employed in the affairs of his family till two hours after it was dark. Then he supped and slept only two hours, after which he took the Alcoran and read till break of day. This was told me by several eunuchs belonging to the court, who knowing their prince was skilled in necromancy, believed he was assisted by the devil in that painful course of life, else he could not have gone through so much fatigue in his decrepit old age. This might serve as an example to some princes of Europe, who are so reserved, that they give audience but twice a week, and then will not stay a moment to hear their subjects' grievances, as if it were not their duty to listen to them with patience. And it is certain the Mogul did not feed on such dainties as they do, but on herbs and pulse, fasting every day at those years, though made of flesh and blood like the Europeans.

After Aurangzeb had prescribed himself this sort of life, he ceased to be bloody as before, and on the contrary became so mild, that the governors and omrahs did not pay him the duty they ought, knowing his mercy would never suffer him to punish them. Thus the poor were oppressed by the great ones without knowing who to have recourse to, because the king when advised to be less merciful towards those that transgressed his commands, answered, that he was no God, that his ministers might not contradict him, and that if they misbehaved themselves, heaven would punish them. A government far different from that of Turkey, and Persia, where the stain of disobedience is washed away with blood. Those that saw but into the outside, said, Aurangzeb was a great Mahometan saint, who after his death must be put into the martyrology of their false sect. But I am of opinion he connived at the failings of his ministers, and omrahs, that they might love the present government, under which they were suffered to act as they pleased, and consequently there might be no way for any of his sons, to usurp the throne.

forces with those of Ragia against Aurangzeb, who could never have believed it, and making a body of 70,000 horse, and a competent number of foot, most of them Rajputs, he came into Ajmer, where his father was. Here whilst he rested his army much fatigued with the long march, the crafty old man having no sufficient force to oppose him, had recourse to stratagem. He therefore sent a confident of his into the enemy's camp, with a letter directed to his son, in which he commended his extraordinary wise conduct in drawing the idolaters to that place, to be all cut off, as had been agreed, and that he would advance the next day, to put it in execution. The eunuch had orders to behave himself so that the enemy growing jealous, might secure him, and intercepting the letter rely no more on Akbar. It fell out accordingly; and though he swore upon the Alcoran, that it was an invention of his father's to distract them, the chiefs of the gentiles would never believe him. These jealousies kept them so long employed, that Aurangzeb, as he had expected, gained time to call his 2nd son to his defence with a powerful army, who being come up, he defeated the raja and Akbar. He putting himself with 4,000 horse under the protection of Shambhaji, a Pagan recollet Aurangzeb made war so furiously on the said Shambhaji, that he at last took him prisoner, and caused his head to be cut off, for having uttered some indecent expressions in his presence. This man's ruin was caused by drunkenness, for as he was drinking in his tent with his women-dancers, being told by the advanced guards that the Mogul's army was advancing, instead of going to arms, he caused their heads to be cut off, saying, they would not dare to come where he was, the same he did by a second sentinel. His son, whose head was not so full of wine, saved himself with a 1,000 horse, leaving his father behind, who was carried away prisoner, and not long after to his grave.

Akbar escaping this storm went to Goa, where the Portugueses furnished him with ships to go over to Ormus. There he was nobly received by the Cham, and afterwards by order of Shah Sulaiman, then king of Persia, attended by many troops of soldiers to the court of Ispahan; where he was courteously entertained, and had an allowance to maintain him suitable to his quality; as I observed in the 2nd part. The old man fearing

this son's valour, used several arts to draw him out of Persia, but with small hopes of success, because Akbar was not so weak as to be ensnared by his father. Whilst I was at Ispahan, some eunuchs told me, they were sent by a certain omrah, who governed on the borders of Kandahar, with a present of several thousand rupees to this prince, which he would not accept and therefore they were going back with the money. They offered to carry me into India by land, but I refused their kindness. I was afterwards informed by others, that this was a contrivance of Aurangzeb, who had ordered the omrah, of whom Akbar had desired to borrow some thousand rupees, to make him a present of them, and to endeavour by fair means to draw him into India, which Akbar understanding by means of his sister, he refused the present. Aurangzeb took many towns from Shivaji for having assisted this prince, and continuing the war, had besieged him in his court of Gingee. The city is seated between 7 mountains, each of which has a fort on the top, and can be relieved by ways unknown to the Moguls, so that they lay before them to no purpose with 30,000 horse and as many foot. I have not heard since I left the country, what was the event of the siege, which had then lasted seven years.

Aurangzeb's youngest son is Sikandar now about 30 years of age, and infected like the rest, with the contagious distemper of ambition. Therefore the old man, though after subduing the kings of Byapur, and Golconda, he had no enemies left, but Shivaji, who is inconsiderable in regard of him, yet fearing with much reason the perverse inclination of his sons, he had continued in arms in the field for 15 years, and particularly four years at Galgala, after defeating Akbar. He said his father Shah Jahan had not so much discretion, for he might have learnt by many years experience, that the kings of Indostan when they grow old, must keep at the head of powerful armies, to defend themselves against their sons. Yet I am of opinion that notwithstanding all his precautions, he will come to no better end than his predecessors. All I have hitherto said concerning the intestine wars between the Moguls was told me and affirmed by several soldiers in the camp, who had been eye-witnesses, and some gathered out of creditable authors.

## 5. OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE GREAT MOGUL

FOR the better management of public affairs, and due administration of justice, the king keeps four secretaries of state, who are to acquaint him with all that happens in the empire, and to receive his orders. The first of them is called Bakhshi, and has the charge of warlike affairs, and looks that the soldiers be paid, punished, and rewarded, as also that the omrahs keep their full complement of men. The 2nd is called Adelet, who takes care that justice be administered, both in civil and criminal cases, giving the king an account what ministers behave themselves well, and what ill. The 3rd they call Diwan, and to him it belongs to divide the jagirs or fiefs among the omrahs, subas, and other commanders; and to see they do not oppress the inhabitants of the places committed to them with too heavy impositions. The 4th is known by the name of Khan-i-saman; who is a treasurer general, that causes all the revenues of the empire to be brought into the treasury, and every week, lays before the king what every province is worth, and what it yields, and what money remains in the king's coffers.

There are particular days appointed for these secretaries to inform the king because a private audience would not suffice for such multiplicity of business. Monday, therefore is laid aside for the affairs of Lahore, Delhi and Agra, Tuesday for Kabul, Wednesday for the kingdoms of Bengal and Patna, Thursday for that of Gujarat, Saturday for that of Burhanpur, and Sunday for Deccan; no business being done on Friday, because it is the Mahometan festival.

Aurangzeb notwithstanding his continual application to these private audiences with his ministers, yet never failed of the public, except on Fridays, for the good of the subjects, and this sometimes he did in three several places, one called Diwan-i-khas, the other Ghusal Khan and the 3rd Adalet.

The Great Mogul is so absolute, that there being no written laws, his will in all things is a law, and the last decision of all causes, both civil and criminal. He makes a tyrannical use of this absolute power; for being lord of all the land, the princes

themselves have no certain place of abode, the king altering it at pleasure, and the same with the poor peasants who have sometimes the land they have cultivated taken from them, and that which is untilld given them in lieu of it, besides that they are obliged every year to give the king three parts of the crop. He never admits anybody into his presence, empty handed, and sometimes refuses admittance to draw a greater present. For this reason the omrahs and nababs appointed to govern the provinces, oppress the people in the most miserable manner imaginable.

## 6. OF THE REVENUES AND WEALTH OF THE GREAT MOGUL

AN infinite quantity of rupees, is continually flowing into the Great Mogul's exchequer, for besides the usual taxes and excessive imposts, the subjects must pay for their land, which is all his. Besides when a general, or any other person who has received the king's pay dies, all his goods fall to the king, without leaving the children so much as a maintenance, a custom Aurangzeb condemned, when he spoke of his father, and yet all employments both civil and military are sold. For this reason no family can continue long great, but sometimes the son of an omrah goes a begging. Add to all this, that though in so vast an empire, there be some barren lands, yet there are some kingdoms wonderful fruitful, as is that of Bengal, which exceeds Egypt, not only in plenty of rice, corn, sugar, and all other necessaries for the support of humane life, but in the richest commodities, as silk, cotton, indigo and the like. Besides the country is so populous, that the handicrafts, though naturally given to sloath, are forced either by necessity or choice, to apply themselves to work on carpets, brocades, embroidery, cloth of gold and silver, and all sorts of manufactures in silk and cotton, generally worn there; besides those transported

every year, by an infinite number of ships, not only into other parts of Asia, but into Africa and Europe.

That the reader may form some idea of the wealth of this empire, he is to observe that all the gold and silver, which circulates throughout the world, at last centres here. It is well known that as much of it as comes out of America, after running through several kingdoms of Europe, goes partly into Turkey, for several sorts of commodities, and part into Persia, by the way of Smyrna for silk. Now the Turks not being able to abstain from coffee, which comes from Yemen, and Arabia Felix, nor Persia, Arabia, and the Turks themselves to go without the commodities of India, send vast quantities of money to Mocha on the Red Sea, near Bab el-Mandeb, to Bassora at the bottom of the Persian Gulf; and to Bander Abassi and Gomeron, which is afterwards sent over in ships to Indostan. Besides the Indian, Dutch, English, and Portuguese ships, that every year carry the commodities of Indostan, to Pegu, Tanasserri, Siam, Ceylon, Achin, Macassar, the Maldivé Islands, Mozambique and other places, must of necessity convey much gold and silver thither, from those countries. All that the Dutch fetch from the mines in Japan, sooner or later, goes to Indostan; and the goods carried hence into Europe, whether to France, England, or Portugal, are all purchased for ready money, which remains there.

I was told that the Mogul receives from only his hereditary countries, eighty crores of rupees a year (every crore is ten millions) they could give me no certain account what the conquered kingdoms yield.

There is an author, not well acquainted with this affair, who reduces this monarch's revenue to 330 millions: Another on the other side makes it infinite, and that alone which he says is in the treasury, seem fabulous. But they that will judge of it, by his expenses must consider that the Mogul has dispersed throughout his empire 300,000 horse, and 400,000 foot, who have all great pay. At court the daily expense is 50,000 rupees, to maintain the elephants, horses, dogs, hawks, tigers, and deer, as also some hundreds of black and white eunuchs to look to the royal palaces, musicians and dancers. I am therefore of opinion, that next to the emperor of China, no monarch in the world is equal to the Great Mogul in strength and riches.

## 7 OF THE WEAPONS AND FORCES OF THE GREAT MOGUL

THE arms offensive of the Moguls are broad heavy swords, bowed like scimitars, and those made in the country, being apt to break, the English furnish them with such as are made in Europe, ill shaped daggers, which they always wear hanging to their girdle, bows and arrows, javelins, pistols, muskets, and pikes 12 foot long, for the foot, but most of the soldiers have bows and arrows. They have also cannon in their cities, and armies

Their arms defensive, are a round buckler two foot diameter, made of black hides of wild buffaloes, with many nails with large heads to ward off arrows or swords, coats of mail, breast-plates, head-pieces, and covering for their arms down to their wrists

As for the soldiers' pay, the Mogul manages it after a different manner than all other princes in the world, for he pays them not himself, but gives the omrahs jaghirs, that is, tenures of lands to maintain a certain number, as was said elsewhere, and this even to the princes of the blood

The omrahs are divided into hazaris, du hazaris, panj hazaris, hasht hazar is, dah hazaris, and dawazdah hazaris, of which last sort the king's eldest son was. Their pay is proportionable to the number of horse they keep, besides which the king allows them a pension for their own use. But they always cheat the soldiers of part of their pay, and by that means grow vastly rich, especially if they happen to have a good jaghir. Some are obliged to keep 500 horse, and have about 5,000 Neapolitan crowns revenue a month. It is true they spend all they get in presents they are forced to make the king every year, upon certain festivals, every man according to his condition, and in keeping so many women, servants, camels, and horses of great value

The number of omrahs throughout the empire is not settled, but they are generally under 40. They are preferred to the greatest governments, and chief posts at court, and in the army, and therefore are, as they themselves say, the pillars of the



empire. They appear abroad with noble equipages; some on elephants, others a horseback, or on palanquins, attended by a considerable number of horse, and by the guards of their palaces; as also by abundance of servants, some of whom go before to clear the way, others drive away the flies, or keep off the dust with peacocks' tails, others carry water to drink, and other things. All that reside at court, are obliged to go twice a day to pay their respects to the king, that is, at ten in the morning, and about sun set, in the place where he administers justice; or else they lose part of their pay. They are also to mount the guard once a week for 24 hours; and that day the king sends them their meat, which they receive with much respect, doing the taslim three times, that is, an obeisance after their manner towards the royal apartment, laying their right hand on the ground, and then on their head. They are also obliged to attend the king at all times, as was said above.

The mansebdars are gentlemen, or horse, who have very honourable pay, and is called mansab, but less than the omrahs. They are much respected in the camp, because they may easily rise to the degree of omrahs, and own no superior but the king. They differ from the others in this particular that they are not obliged to maintain above 4, or 5 horse. As for their pay they have 150 rupees a month, and sometimes 700, but instead of having them in ready money, they are forced to take the old furniture of the king's house, at excessive rates. There is no fixed number of them, but they are more than the omrahs; there being 2, or 300 of them very often at court, besides those in the provinces, and armies.

The 3rd degree is of the rouzindars, who are also horse, but paid by the day, as their name imports. Their pay is not inferior to that of the mansebdars, but the post is not so honourable. The number of them is very great, and many of them are clerks and under clerks.

The light horse are subject to the omrahs, and those are counted the best, who have two horses, branded with their omrah's mark on the leg. Their pay is not fixed, and depends on the generosity of the omrah, but they stand the Mogul in at least 25 rupees a month, considering the revenues he assigns for their maintenance.

The foot and musketeers are in a miserable condition, some of them having 20, some 15, and others ten rupees a month. They carry their rest tied to the musket, which they make but ill use of, for fear of burning their great beard. The artillery is divided into two sorts, the heavy cannon, and the light, as they call it. The heavy consists of between 60 and 70 guns, without reckoning 300 field-pieces, fixed on camels, as pedreroes are on our backs. The other, 50 or 60 small brass guns, which are the 2nd sort, are on carriages, with little red banners, each drawn by two horses, a third being led by, to rest sometimes the one, and sometimes the other. Though the heavy cannon cannot always follow the king, who sometimes goes out of the road, to hunt, or take some other diversion, the light always does, and when he is near the place appointed to encamp, it is fired, that the army may know he is arrived. All this artillery, especially the heavy, is under the direction of Franks, or Christian gunners, who have extraordinary pay, especially the Portuguese, English, Dutch, Germans, and French, who go from Goa, or run away from aboard ships. Some of them formerly had 200 rupees a month, but now the Moguls have learnt somewhat of the art they have less. There is a general of the artillery whose pay is a million a year, out of which he is to keep 200 men.

Besides the Mogul soldiers, there are the strangers, hired of the rajas, who serve the Mogul for very great pay, bringing with them a certain number of Rajputs, and doing the same duty as the omrahs do, but with this difference, that they will not keep guard in forts, but in their own tents, that they may not be shut up 24 hours. The Mogul keeps them in his pay, as also the Pathans, because they are men of courage, and there are rajas that can raise 20,000 horse upon occasion, as also to sow discord and jealousies among them, by favouring one more than another, and by that means he the safer from their contrivances, and from the others who are not in his pay.

The soldiers of the country differ neither in offices nor discipline from that already mentioned, but that they never follow the king; but every kingdom keeps its own to secure the frontiers against strangers, as the Persians, Afghans, Baluchis and others.

All soldiers whatsoever receive their pay duly every 2 months from the king's treasurer, except those that are paid by the

omrahs, as was said before. Nor is there any danger their pay should be kept from them, for all people here living either by their industry, or by serving the king (for want of private revenues) if they were not well paid, they must either starve, or mutiny. And to say the truth, the greatest wonder in that country is to see so many thousands live on the king's pay. It is not so in Europe, for sometimes soldiers have something of their own; or when they want pay live upon others.

The number of troops they said the Mogul kept when I was there mounted to 300,000 horse and 400,000 foot. Part of these were in the camp at Galgala, 60,000 horse and foot at the siege of Gingee. The third camp was of 7,000 horse and 10,000 foot, the 4th of 12,000 horse, commanded at Panhala by Azam Shah's son the king's grandson, and the rest were distributed about the frontiers and in garrisons.

## 8. THE MANNERS, HABIT, MARRIAGES AND FUNERALS OF THE MOGULS

T H E R E are two principal festivals kept in the court of the Great Mogul, the one called Varshagrantha, the other Tol. The first is on the king's birthday, or those of the princes of the blood, because bars in the country language signifies year, and gant a knot, and those people every year make a knot in a cord, they either wear about them or keep at home, to know their age. This solemnity is kept with great pomp, all the great ones coming to wish the king many happy years with presents of money and jewels. Shah Jahan was mightily pleased they should present him with gold vessels set with jewels, to hold sweet waters, which he placed in the chamber that served for his leud practices. It was set out with looking glasses adorned with precious stones, and all the roof sparkling with diamonds. That day the Mogul sits on the famous throne begun by Tamerlan and finished by Shah Jahan. It is all over set with diamonds, emeralds, rubies, pearls and

sapphires; especially the pearls on the twelve little pillars, which close the three sides, are beyond all that can be imagined. Then the roof of it and all other parts is so orderly enriched with jewels of inestimable value, all found within the empire, that some make the value of it to rise to fifty millions, but in reality it is not to be valued

The second festival is that of Tol, which in that language signifies weight. Some suppose it to be so called because the king weighs himself in a pair of scales, to see whether he is grown fatter, but having asked the question in the camp of several credible persons, and particularly of Christians born at Agra and Delhi, who had served there many years, they told me it was a mere romance; for not only Aurangzeb, but none of his predecessors ever weighed themselves. It is true this festival is kept in the king's house, but they weigh money, jewels, and other things of value presented by the great men and favourites, which are afterwards distributed among the poor with great solemnity. It is done some days after the Varshagrantha, either sooner, or later, as the king thinks fit.

The Indians are well shaped, it being rare to find any of them crooked, and for stature like the Europeans. They have black hair, but not curled, and their skin is of an olive colour, and they do not love white, saying it is the colour of leprosy. They wash often, anointing themselves after it with rich oils and ointments. They live in low houses, with trees about them, so that their cities at a distance look like woods. There are no inns for travellers among them as was said at first, but in the cities and great towns they have some places called serais, where strangers may have houseroom. They use carts to travel in (which are shut when there are women in them,) drawn by oxen, and asses when the journey is short. The great men and those that are well to pass are carried upon elephants, or in palanquins. There is none of them but endeavours the best he can to go to Mecca, to become a haji or saint. They delight very much in hunting, and make use of dogs and tame leopards. They take waterfowl after this manner. They go into the water up to the chin, covering their faces with birds of the same sort they would take, artificially made, then the bird coming near his likeness they draw him down by the legs and stifle him. The

Chinese and Mexicans do the same, as shall be said in its place. Being excellent archers they shoot birds flying, with arrows

The Mahometans of Indostan, though barbarous in other respects, are not so deceitful, so proud, or such enemies to Christians, as the Turks; and a Christian may therefore keep them company with safety. The pagans are still more just to travellers. As for courage neither Mahometans nor gentiles have much of it. The best of them are the Baluchis borderers on Persia, the Pathans of the kingdom of Bengal, and the Rajputs very great thieves.

The languages spoken at court are the Arabian and the Persian. As for sciences they can make no progress in them for want of books; for they have none but some small manuscript works of Aristotle and Avicenna in Arabic. They hold astrology in great account, in so much that the King undertakes nothing without the advice of his astrologers. In physic they have but small skill, and cure several diseases by fasting. They also delight in music, for which they have several sorts of instruments.

They spend all they have in luxury keeping a vast number of servants, but above all of concubines. These being many every one of them strives to be beloved above the rest, using all manner of allurements, perfumes and sweet ointments. Sometimes to heighten their master's lusts they give him compositions of pearls, gold, opium and amber; or else much wine that he may require company in bed. Then some drive away the flies, others rub his hands and feet, others dance, others play on music, and others do other things; and hence it is that for the most part they take the lawful wife's place; who sitting near her husband modestly winks at this affront, till she has an opportunity to revenge herself. These women are committed to the custody of eunuchs, but it is delivering up the sheep to the wolves; so lascivious are the women. And yet they are excusable, because the husbands, though they be peasants, lie apart from their wives, and only call them when they have occasion.

The great men have noble structures, with several courts, and the tops of the houses flat to take the air, and fountains with carpets about them to sit and receive visits from their friends. Inferiors salute laying their hand on their head, but equals only bow their body. In their discourse they are modest and civil;

not using so many actions with their hands, nor talking so loud as some Europeans do. The table is spread on the ground without napkins or table-cloth; nor do they drink till they have done eating. Their greatest delight is to chew betel all day.

The vests both of men and women are narrow towards the waist, and hang down half way the leg, under them they wear long breeches down to their ankles, so that they serve for stockings. The foot remains bare, with a sort of flat shoes, like our slippers, which are easily slipped off when they go into rooms, to keep them clean, they being covered with carpets. They wrap a very fine piece of muslin or calico about their head, and never uncover it to do reverence to superiors, but bow their body, putting their right hand on the ground and then on the head, as if they said they submitted themselves to be trampled on by them. They generally wear the vest and turban of cotton, but the sash is of silk and gold.

The Mahometan women do not appear in public, except only the vulgar sort, and the leud ones. They cover their heads, but the hair hangs down behind in several tresses. Many of them bore their noses to wear a gold ring set with stones.

The Mahometan Indians marry very young, but the idolaters at all ages. These last may not have several wives at once like the Mahometans; but when the first is dead may take another, provided she be a maid, and of the same race, or tribe. The ceremony is thus, If they be persons of quality they make the cavalcade at night with lights, abundance of people go before making a displeasing concert with several instruments, as pipes, kettle-drums as long as a barrel, and copper-plates, which they beat. Then follow abundance of children a horseback, next to whom comes the bridegroom, well clad and mounted, with several Bannians about him, with their vests and ciras dyed in saffron, and other persons carrying umbrellas, and banners: and having taken a round about the city goes to the bride's house. Here a Bramen having said some prayers over them both, puts a cloth between the husband and wife, and orders the husband with his bare foot to touch the wife's, and then the wife the husband's, which done the marriage is concluded. When the woman is carried home, the goods go before, being for the most part stuffs of several colours, and a cradle for the child that is

to be got, all this with the noise of several instruments. Rich people make a hut before their houses, covered both inside and outside with stuffs and carpets, to entertain their guests under shelter. Sometimes they treat them for eight days together.

All the women are fruitful, which is caused by the air and provisions, and are so easily delivered, that some of them go wash in the river the same day. They bring up their children naked till seven years of age, nor do they take much care to teach them to go, but let them tumble about the ground as much as they will, as soon as they are born.

In Malabar the women (even those that are of quality and king's sisters) have the liberty to choose a man to lie with them. When a Nayar or gentile is in a ladies chamber, he leaves his staff or his sword at the door, that others who would go in may see the place is taken up; and no man has the boldness to disturb him. Thus there being no possibility of knowing who is the father of the child that is born into the world, the succession is ordered after another manner; that is, when one dies his sister's children inherit, because there can be no doubt made of the kindred.

When a man or woman has committed such a crime as to be expelled their tribe, as if a woman had lain with a Mahometan, she must live for a certain time only upon corn found in the cow's dung, if she will be received again.

As to the manner of burying, the most usual is to wash the body first in a river, or pool, then burn it in a neighbouring pagoda, and throw the ashes into the same water. In some places they leave them by the river side. The manner of carrying them is also different, according to the fashions of each country. In some the body well clad, and sitting is carried with drums beating, and a long train of kindred and friends; and after being washed is encompassed with wood. The wife who has been that while near the body singing, and expressing a desire to die, is afterwards bound by a Bramen near the dead body and burnt with it; the friends pouring oil on them that they might consume the faster.

In other places the bodies are carried covered on a bier to the river side; and after they have been washed they are put into a hut full of sweet wood, if the dead person has left money

women break their glass and ivory bracelets they wear on their arms, as they also do at their king's death. Having before spoke of the Mahometan ceremonies it is needless to repeat it in this place.

## 9. OF THE CLIMATE, FRUIT, FLOWERS, MINERALS, BEASTS AND COIN OF INDOSTAN

GENERALLY throughout all Indostan the heat is excessive, except near the mountains. We Europeans fare ill there because of the seasons differing from ours, because their winter begins in June and ends in September; though there falls less rain than at Goa. Before and after winter there are dreadful storms and hurricanes, three months from the north and three from the south, so that there is no sailing about India but six months in the year.

Between Surat and Agra the metropolis of the Mogul's dominions, it only rains at one certain time of the year, that is, during those three months the sun is about the tropic of Cancer, the other nine months the sky is so clear, that there is scarce a cloud to be seen above the horizon.

Having spoke of the fruit when I was at Goa, there is no need of adding any more. Indostan abounds in rice, excellent wheat, and all sorts of grain, vast flocks and herds of cattle, butter and cheese. There being no grapes, the wine is brought out of Arabia and Persia, or is made in the country of raisins, which being also brought from abroad, they steep and boil in water. The common drink of the country is distilled sura, but not very wholesome.

The flowers are very fragrant, and much better coloured than any in Europe. There are many samples, which they carry into Europe for physical uses, which I do not describe, because I will not treat of what others have given an account of.



As for metals the Mogul's country affords none but copper, iron, and lead, but the want of others is abundantly made amends for by the rich mines of diamonds and other precious stones. The best is that in the kingdom of Golconda, seven days' journey east of Agra, which the natives call Gani, and the Persians Kallur. It is in a plain five miles in compass, between a village and some mountains, which produce nothing at all. They say it was discovered 140 years since after this manner. A peasant sowing in that plain, found such a rich diamond, that though he did not understand those things, yet he would carry it to a merchant of Golconda who delighted in them. The news was immediately spread about the city, and every one that had money digging in that place, there were stones found from 12 to 40 carats; and particularly that great diamond of some hundred carats, which Mir Jumla, the king of Golconda's general gave Aurangzeb when he came into his service. Afterwards the king took the mine to himself, and now the merchants buy it of him by spans.

The manner of digging the stones is this. First they enclose a spot of ground much bigger than that they buy to dig, with a little wall two spans high; then they dig the ground marked out by the king's officers 12 or 14 spans down to the water, below which there is no hopes of any diamonds, and carry the earth into the aforesaid enclosure in great baskets. When it is all together they fill the place full of water, and leave it so till it is all mud. Then they add more water, and opening the holes which are at every step in the wall, the mud runs out, and the gravel remains; which is again covered with water, if it be not clean. When dry they put it into baskets for the stand to drop through, and then putting it into the same place they beat it with long staves. Then they take it up again and sifting it, they spread it and pick out the diamonds in the presence of the buyer, and of the officers, who take those that are above a certain weight for the king.

There are diamond mines at a place called Rammalakota, in the province of Carnatica, in the kingdom of Bijapur, but they do not work at them. The king of Sukadana in the island of Borneo has some better, but there are few of them, and are found in the sand of the river Sukadana.

Besides the birds and beasts Europe affords, India has others peculiar to it; as for instance the gazellers, of which we have spoke in the two precedent volumes, they have horns a span and a half long, and twisted or spiral To take them they make use of the tame leopard, or of the male gazelle thus They tie him with a rope wound about under his belly, and when they see a flock of gazelles let him go among them The male that is in the flock, being jealous comes out to attack him, and his horns being spiral or winding does so entangle himself, that not being able to retire when he would, the hunters have time to take him.

There are also wild cows and other wild beasts we spoke of when we gave an account of the game at Daman, camels, dromedaries, rhinoceros, as tall as a large ox, and elephants. There are several ways of taking these, sometimes they dig trenches and cover them, into which when they fall they cannot get out. In other places they carry a female into the woods just at the time when she is in her lust, at her cries the wild male comes, and couples with her contrary to other beasts, belly to belly, in the narrow place where she was left. When the male would be gone, he finds the way stopped up, and the hunters at a distance, throw over him great and small ropes, so that his trunk and legs being secured they can come near without danger. However they lead him away between two tame elephants, and beat him if he makes a noise. Afterwards he grows tame among the rest of his kind; and then he that has them in charge, teaches him to salute friends with his trunk, to threaten, or strike whom he pleases, and to kill a man condemned to that sort of death, with an iron fixed at the end of a pole, and then the manager sits upon his neck. It is of itself a very tractable creature, when it is not enraged or in lust; for then he that rules it is in danger They quiet him with artificial fireworks, or directing him into a river, where, though so large, he swims extraordinary well. The she-elephants carry their young 12 months; they live 100 years, and carry about 3,200 pounds weight Spanish Those of Ceylon though smaller are the most valued of any in India, because they have more courage, and as the Indians imagine are respected by the others. But those of Golconda, Cochin china,

Siam, and the Island Sumatra are stronger, and more surefooted on the mountains. It is dear keeping of them, for besides the flesh they eat, paste made of meal with sugarcanes, and other things, they give them *aqua-vitae* to drink.

There are also stags, lions, tigers, and leopards, which they hunt with good dogs, and several creatures not to be found in Europe, of which mention was made among the game of Daman.

I must not omit here to give an account of the musk wild goat found in the country of Ajmer. Its snout is like a goat, the hair like a stag, and its teeth like a dog. Under the belly it has a little bladder, as big as an egg, full of a thick congealed blood, which being cut off is tied up in a skin, that the scent may not evaporate. After which the beast lives but a short time. They are also taken on the cold mountains of the kingdom of Bhutan, in the latitude of 56 and 60 degrees, but the greatest quantity and the best comes out of the country of the Tartars bordering on China, where they make a great trade of it. The scent is so strong that having bought a little at Peking, it was smelt at a great distance, as if my portumantue had been full of it, which caused some dispute with the customers. They so adulterate it, mixing it with other blood, that when it comes into Europe it is not a quarter musk.

As for fowl, there are all in India that Europe affords, and many peculiar to the country. In the woods there are abundance of peacocks, several sorts of parrots and green pigeons. There are most beautiful birds, to be kept in cages, both sightly for their feathers, and pleasant for singing sweetly. I saw some half as big as wheat-ears, all spotted like a tiger. Besides the wild hens, there is a sort of tame ones whose skin and bones are very black, but they are well tasted.

The money coined in Indostan is, rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees of silver; as also rupees of gold, worth 13 silver rupees and a quarter, or six pieces of eight Spanish money, half rupees, and quarters. On both sorts there are Persian characters with the name of the city, where it is coined, and the king's name on the reverse. There are also copper pieces, called *paisas*, 54 whereof make a rupee of silver. The rajas, or pagan petty kings, in their dominions coin gold pieces called *pagodas*, because

they have a little pagoda stamped on them, and these are worth a zecchine of Venice Both the gold and silver, are much finer than the gold of the Spanish pistoles, and silver of their pieces of eight: Foreign coin is also current in the Mogul's country, as zecchines, by which there is much got, pieces of eight, ahassis of Persia, and other sorts, but more particularly in the ports, and places of trade.

They reckon by lakhs, each worth 1,00,000 rupees, crous or crores, which are 100 lakhs; and arabs, that are ten crores. The batman, and man, are weights of 55 pounds. Another smaller weight is called goer or seer, but they sometimes change according to the prince's will.

# BOOK III

## 1. OF THE SEVERAL RELIGIONS IN INDOSTAN

THIS vast empire, besides the natives, is inhabited by Persians, Tartars, Abyssinians, Armenians, Jews, Christians, Mahometans, and others, but the most universal religions are the Mahometan, and the pagan, for the first is professed by the Mogul, and the other by the ancient lords and people of the country. Having discoursed fully of the Mahometan in the first volume, and these emperors being of the Turkish sect, it only remains to give a short account in this chapter of the pagan. All the gentiles in India hold the transmigration of souls, like the Pythagoreans, by which means, in their opinion, the souls after death receive the reward or punishment of their good or evil actions, being put into good or bad creatures. And therefore they pay singular honour to the cow, by the advice of Ramak their legislator, as being creatures that, besides the good they do to men, shall receive the souls of good men. By reason of this same opinion, they take special care of all other creatures, not only forbearing to eat them, but using all means to prevent others killing them, and as was said before, in some cities they have hospitals, where they are at a vast expense in looking after sick creatures.

Though they all profess one religion, yet they are divided into 84 sects, or tribes, each of which has its particular rites and ceremonies, and some peculiar profession or trade, which their children never leave, without they would be for ever reputed infamous, as I was told by a Bramen, I sent for on purpose to be informed in what relates to them.

The first and principal tribe is that of the Bramens, who are professors of learning, and priests of their religion, which is divided into ten several sects. The first five feed on herbs, and grain, without ever eating anything that has life, and are called, the first Marathas, the second Telanga, the third Canara, the fourth Dravida, and the fifth Gujarati, the four first eat in one another's houses, but not in those of the Gujaratis. The

other five sects eat of all living creatures, except fish, and are called Gaud, Kanauriya, Trihuti, which are the Bramens of Goa, Gayavali, and Gangaputra, none of which eat in the house of another.

In these 10 sects, or orders of Bramens, no man may marry out of his own tribe. In the cross line, in which only they may take wives, the prohibition reaches to the seventh degree of consanguinity, or affinity; but the daughter of a brother may marry the son of a sister, that is, her cousin, yet not the contrary that is the son of the brother with the daughter of the sister, that the same blood may not come into the family. The Gujaratis are not subject to this law

All these 10 tribes of Bramens converse with one another; but if one comes that is not washed, he may not touch anybody, lest he defile them, it being a precept among them to wash their body morning, noon and night. Their widows do not marry again, and if they will burn themselves with their husband's body, they gain much reputation, such as will not are looked upon as cowardly, and infamous.

The second tribe is that of the Rajputs, or princes descended from warlike men. These only eat in the houses of their own tribe, or in those of the Bramens, in which all the others may eat, each according to its quality. The wives of Rajputs cannot avoid being burned with their husbands, if they have no male issue, and if they refuse, are carried by force. Though other tribes are allowed but one wife, the Rajputs, as being free princes may have as many as they please. Some of these Rajputs border on the lands of Goa; for besides Shivaji, there is Choutia, near Daman; and Grassias, not far from Surat, both robbers, living among mountains, like beasts. The king of Portugal allows Choutia 30,000 mhmudis, which make 5,500 ducats of Naples, and the Mogul gives the other a like sum out of the neighbourhood of Surat, that they may not rob, but defend travellers against thieves. The king Penti, near Bassein, might more properly be called king of the woods, he living in them, like an outlaw. There is some difference of sects among the Rajputs; but they all agree in eating fish, except beef, and tame swine.

The third tribe of Bannians is divided into twenty sects, none of which marries into the other. They eat nothing that

has life, but only herbs and pulse. Almost all these are merchants; and being bred up to it from their infancy, they are much greater cheats than the Armenians and Jews.

There are two tribes of Prabhus, the one called Patara, the other—(The name of the second is not given by the author). These eat all sorts of flesh, but beef, one of them neither eats with, nor marries into the other; and their wives when the husband dies may marry again.

There are also two tribes of Sutaras, or timber-men, the one called Concanas, the other Gujarati. The first eat all sorts of flesh, except beef, the others only fish. They do not marry out of their own tribe, nor do they eat with one another, and the widows marry.

The Kansars, or braziers, are also divided into Concanas, and Gujaratis, differing even in their trade in some measure, and eat all flesh, except beef. But they do not intermix in marriages, or eat together, and the widows marry again.

The Gowalas, who sell milk, and are herdsmen, are another tribe, that eats everything but beef, and tame swine's flesh. Their widows marry again.

The Malis, or sellers of flowers, are another tribe, that eat all things with the same exception as the last, and their widows marry again without any dishonour.

The Sonars, or goldsmiths, are divided into Concanas, and Gujaratis, and observe the same as the braziers.

There is another tribe of valors, or gardeners, who eat all flesh, but beef and pork. They neither eat with, nor marry into another tribe, their widows marry again.

The Kunbis, or peasants make up another tribe. They eat flesh with the same exception, and are divided into Chaudhurs, Matares, Patels, Rauts, Naiks, Morias, Gorels, who go a horseback when they are to be married, and Doblas great wizards, inhabiting the woods, where they eat bats, lizards, snakes, moles, and all sorts of vermin, though never so stinking. Their women go naked, only covering their privities with a leaf. These, and other tribes of labouring people do not intermix in marriages, but may eat together, and the women marry again.



The Bhathelas are also country people who wear a line like the Bramens, being one made up of three, which seems to signify the unity of God in three persons. They eat nothing that has life, but herbs, nor do they marry into other tribes. The widows do not marry again.

The Bhandaris, who prune the palm, or coco-trees, and draw the sura from it, are divided into Rautis, Chodris, Shiadas, Kitas, Charadas, and other sorts which do not marry into one another; but eat together, and of all sorts of flesh, except beef, and tame swine. The widows marry again.

The Dhobis, or washers of linen, are divided into Concanas, and Gujaratis. They eat together, but marry each in their own tribe, and eat any flesh but beef and pork. The widows marry again.

The Fishermen are divided into many races, or tribes, called Coles, Mavis, Purubias, Vaitis, and Birmassis. They eat in one another's houses, of all flesh with the usual exception, and the widows marry again.

The Sotrias make two distinct tribes, the one called Salunkis, the other Coles. They neither eat nor marry together. They eat flesh like the rest, and their widows marry again. When the elder brother dies, the younger takes his wife, but if the younger dies, the elder does not so.

Those that carry salt are called Charanas, and make several tribes. They take wives out of any of them, eat flesh as above, and their widows have the liberty to marry again.

The Bhansalis, or salt merchants eat all living creatures except beef, tame swine's flesh, crabs, lobsters, crevisses, and all shell fish. They do not marry out of their tribes, but the widows may have second husbands.

The tribe of Bhatias, who are all traders, eat nothing but fish. Neither marry into, nor eat with another tribe; so that for want of another, a poor man sometimes gets a wife with 50,000 crowns.

In Surat there are Babrias, Kathis, and Rajputs, who eat only fish, and wild flesh. They eat together, but do not marry out of their tribes. Their wives do not marry again, but burn themselves, if they will.

The Farasis, make sandals like those of the Recolects. Eat any sort of flesh, though rotten, eat together, and intermix in

marriages, without any prohibition, but their tribe being reputed very vile, they are not allowed to enter the houses of other gentiles, or touch them, and must keep at a great distance

In the country of the Nayars of Cape Comorin, they are called Pulayans, and as they go along the streets, if they will not venture to be beaten, must cry Po, Po, that the other gentiles may take care their very shadow does not touch them, which would defile them, and they would be forced to wash.

This custom makes the Jesuits that are missionaries there lead a very uneasy life, for being obliged to imitate the ways of that tribe, the better to ingratiate themselves with those barbarians, they are forced to wash themselves as many times a day as the others do, to feed upon raw herbs, and when two Fathers meet in the street, one acting the Nayars, and the other the Pulayans, they keep at a distance from one another, that they may not be suspected. There is no doubt they convert very many, but abundance of them not being used to that hardship, fall into dangerous distempers.

Of all the tribes here mentioned, only the Bramens and Bannians are so precise about killing of all creatures, that even those that are venomous may bite them without receiving any harm from them, but the others in this case kill them.

The Jogis are people of all tribes, who have imposed on themselves a most painful sort of penitent life. Besides, being continually naked, some of them hold up their arms in the air, without ever letting them down; others hold them behind, till in time they cannot move them. Some hang themselves up with ropes, others close their mouths with padlocks, so that they must be fed with liquids, others run an iron-ring through their prepuce, and hang a little bell to it, which, when the silly barren women hear, they run to see, and touch him, hoping by that means to become fruitful.

The gentiles pay so great a respect to these penitents, that they think themselves happy, who can prostitute daughters, sisters, or kins-women to their leudness, which they believe lawful in them, and for this reason there are so many thousands of vagabond faquirs throughout India. When the faquirs meet with Bairagis (which is another sort of penitents, differently

habited, with their hair and beard shaved) they fight desperately. They never marry, and eat in the houses of all sects, except the Pulayans. They go into the kitchen, and take what they will, though the master be not at home. They come together like swine by beat of a tabor, or at the blowing of a horn, and march in companies with banners, lances, and other weapons, which, when they rest, they lay down by their master. They boast they are descended from Ravana, who wandered about the world poor and naked; and these vagabonds for imitating him, are looked upon as saints, and live a loose life, with the privilege of committing any crime their brutality suggests.

Now considering so great a number of sects, and such variety of manners, which makes it impracticable for them to be unanimous in government, it is not to be thought strange that so small a number of Mahometans should subdue such a multitude of gentiles; since divisions and discord have ever been the most efficient causes in the world to overthrow the greatest monarchies.

## 2. OF THE OPINIONS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE IDOLATERS

THESE gentiles are so blinded with profound superstition, that they do not think it inconsistent to make their Gods be born of men, and assign them women; believing they love the same things men delight in. They esteem Ram a mighty deity, on account of the wonders he wrought whilst living, by means of a monkey, which crossing the sea at one leap, burnt Ravana's palace, and leaped back again, to which purpose they tell a long and tedious fable. Among the Goddesses they count Mahalakshmi, who they say never refused anybody that asked it, the use of her body, as if she had performed some extraordinary penance, and so a man called Krishna, because whilst he lived he enjoyed 16,000 women.

Some of them believe there are *Elisian fields*, and that in order to come thither, a river is to be passed like the *Styx* of the ancients, where they are to receive new bodies. Others are of opinion the world will end very soon, after which they shall live again, and go into a new country. They all believe there is but one God, who has 1,000 arms, 1,000 eyes, and as many feet; not knowing any better way how to explain the thoughts of his omnipotency. They say they have four books sent them by God, above 6,000 years since, through the hands of their prophet *Ram*, two of which books are shut, and two open; but that they can only be read by those of their religion. Besides, that they are seven heavens, in the highest of which God sits, and that he does not take notice of the particular actions of men, because they are not worthy to be the object of his divine thoughts. They also say there is a place where he may be seen, as it were through a far distant cloud. As for evil spirits they believe they are so chained up, that they can do them no harm.

They talk of a man called *Adam*, who was the first and common father, and they say that his wife, having yielded to the temptation of eating of the forbidden fruit, made her husband eat too; but that as the mouthful he took was going down, the hand of God stopped its passing further, and thence comes the knot men have in their throat, which they therefore call *Adam's Apple*.

The priesthood among them is hereditary, as it was formerly among the Jews, for, as was said before, when a *Bramen* marries, he must take the daughter of another *Bramen*. They are distinguishable from all other gentiles, by a string or rope made of three threads of new cotton, which they were hanging about their neck, and wound about the left arm. It is put upon boys of nine, or ten years of age with great solemnity, but never upon girls. This string or line is to signify the unity of God in three persons, which they call *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Maheśa*. They will never eat a bit without they have it on, and some of them have been known to fast several days, because their rope broke before they could get another of the priests.

When anyone is to be expelled the tribe of the *Bramens*, *Bannians*, or *Bangasclines*, for some heinous crime, they take

away his line thus. All that are of the tribe in that place meet before the Bhatta, or priest, and accuse the criminal of such a crime. He replies, and if his defence be not good, the Bhatta takes away his line, wipes off the tilak, or colour on his forehead. Then all the company falls to chewing of betel, eating of coconuts, and smoking tobacco, without giving the criminal any, only out of pity they throw him down on the ground a leaf of tobacco.

If he desires to be again admitted into the tribe, he must go from house to house, begging pardon and absolution of those that voted, making them sensible of his resignation, and soothing the Bhatta with the present of a cow. This done, he gives all the tribe a treat, who receive him again, and the priest gives him the line and tilak.

All the sects of gentiles on this side Ganges, are very scrupulous as to eating with Christians, and Mahometans, or making use of the same utensils. But those beyond Malacca make no difficulty of it.

They are so silly, or ignorant as to conceit a woman may conceive by strength of imagination, and that though they are many thousand miles distant, and that for several years, yet their wives imagining they lie with them, may become with child, and therefore when they hear of their being brought to bed, they make great rejoicing.

To this purpose, F. Galli, Prefect of the Theatins of Goa, told me a pleasant story. D. Francis de Tavora, Earl of Alvor, arriving from Portugal, to be viceroy of India, news was brought that his wife, whom he left big with child, was delivered of a son. Among the rest a pagan merchant went to congratulate him, and thinking to make the viceroy a great compliment said, I wish Your Excellency joy, and hope you will have news every year of the birth of a son. This would have put him in a passion, had not some told him that the idolaters held that preposterous opinion. The women are happy, that can take their liberty, and make their silly husbands believe they conceived by thinking on them.

When an idolater is dying, his kindred place a cow near the bed, and shake her tail till she pisses, if it reaches the dying man's face, it is looked upon as a good token of his future

state; otherwise, but particularly if the beast does not piss, the obseques are performed in a very melancholy manner. Besides, they put the cow's tail into the dying man's hand, thinking his soul may go into her body. In short, they believe every man may be saved in his religion, and his sect, so he exactly observe God's commandments, and the light of reason, which judgment, though false, some divines would follow, were it not condemned by the church.

The trial upon suspicion of theft among them, is by making the party swim over a river that is full of crocodiles, and if he gets over safe, he is reputed not guilty. The Nayars call this the passage of crocodiles.

These Nayars are great wizards, nor do they ever expose themselves to any feats of arms, without first consulting the devil. To this purpose they let their hair fly, and draw some blood out of their forehead with a knife; then dancing to the music of a drum, they call him aloud, and he comes to advise them whether they had best engage their enemy. But when the enemy repents he gave the challenge, and makes a sign to beg peace, they easily grant it.

Their women are in common. When any of them is with her, he leaves his sword and buckler at the door, that every body may know the place is taken up, and therefore there being no certainty whose the children are, they alter the manner of inheritance, as was said before. But if the women are found to have to do with men of another sect, they become slaves to their queen of Canara. When a brother marries, his wife is common to the rest.

By a privilege granted them by their queen, they accompany travellers through those parts that are infested with robbers, and if they happen to presume to rob any man, they all meet, and pursue the felons till they utterly extirpate them. Thus one boy with a rod in his hand makes it safe travelling throughout all Canara, though it be through woods, and over mountains; and a traveller for a small matter may have one from one village to another.

The superstition of all the gentiles in India, makes them murderers of their own children, for it is their custom when the infant will not suck, to carry it into the field, and there they

leave it from morning till night, in a cloth tied up on high by the four corners, that the crows may peck its eyes out, and this is the reason why there are so many blind in Bengal. Where there are monkeys, the danger is not so great, because they being enemies to the crows throw all their eggs down from the trees, and hinder their multiplying. At night the infant is carried home, and if he will not suck is exposed a second, and third time in the field, and at last hated as if it were some snake, or adder, and cast into the river.

### 3. OF SEVERAL PAGODAS OF THE GENTILES

IN all the temples or pagodas of these idolaters, which for the most part are round, there are figures of devils, serpents, monkeys, and several monsters hideous to behold. In the villages, where there are not carvers to cut them, they take a stone shaped like a cylinder, or small pillar, coloured black, and placing it on a column, adore it instead of an idol, offering to it sacrifice of betel, areca, and other things, as I observed in travelling over dismal mountains, where the country people had made choice, some of stone, others of a tree, and some of an herb for their idol.

The chief pagodas, to which they go in pilgrimage are four; Jagannath, Benaras, Mathura and Tirupati. That of Jagannath, is upon one of the mouths of the river Ganges, where the great Bramen, or high priest resides. There they adore the great idol Krishna, adorned with many jewels. Its revenues maintain all that vast multitude of pilgrims that resort thither, on account of the conveniency of the river Ganges, washing in whose water they think cleanses them from sin more than any other.

The pagoda of Benaras is built on the bank of Ganges, in the city of the same name, and there is a staircase from the door

faquirs carry on their backs vessels full of this water, stopped and sealed by the great Bramen, to prevent all frauds, for several hundreds of miles, to be well paid for it by rich people and merchants they present it to. At weddings they spend the value of 500 crowns of it, or more, it being the custom to give a glass or two of it about after dinner, which they drink with as great a gust, as we should do some rich muskadine, or hippocrass. The idol is called Beni-madhava, held in such honour by the gentiles, that as soon as the pagoda is opened, the Bramens fall flat on their faces, and some with vast great fans go to drive the flies from about the idol. A Bramen marks the forehead of all the pilgrims with a yellow liquor. No women may go into it, but only those of one certain tribe. There is another pagoda near it called Ranchordas, from the name of the idol adorned there.

The pagoda of Mathura is 35 miles from Agra, on the road to Delhi. Within it is a place hemmed in with marble banisters; with the idol Ram in the middle, and two others by him, and both within and without abundance of monsters, some with four arms, and some with four legs; and others with a man's head, and a long tail. They carry this idol upon solemn festivals on a bier, to visit the other Gods, or the river.

The fourth pagoda, is that of Tirupati, in the province of Carnataka, on the coast of Coromandel, and Cape Comorin, it is remarkable for the many buildings and pools about it.

In the kingdom of Vijayanagar, there is a pagoda with 300 marble pillars in it. A Portuguese gentleman, who had lived forty years in India, and was an eye-witness to it, told me, they formerly laid out 10,000 rupees there every year, in making a cart with eighteen wheels, on which, when the festival of the idol was kept, the Bramens mounted with 200 impudent women dancers, skipping in honour of the idol. The cart was drawn by 500 men, and some idolaters, believing that death the direct road to heaven, threw themselves under the wheels, and were crushed to pieces. Besides, that when the king of Golconda possessed himself of that country, under the conduct of the General Mir Jumla, he found in that temple an infinite number of gold vessels, and three diamonds of an inestimable value, one of which the said Mir Jumla presented



to the Great Mogul; and that this general advancing into the country of the Nayak of Tanjore, a gentile, and taking the city of that name, thousands of women threw themselves into wells on account of religion.

He told me further, that near the island of Ceylon, there is another small island called Rameswaram, with a pagoda of the same name; at the entrance whereof is a trough of black stone, and in it a statue of metal, with the eyes made of rubies, and that the gentiles break over it coconuts full of water; and lay figs there, to eat them afterwards, as if they were sanctified, and drink that water, as holy. Within the further part of this pagoda, is another which they open once a year; and there they adore a brazen idol called lingam, which is a very lewd figure, the parts of man and woman appearing joined together. Some gentiles wear it hanging about their necks, out of devotion, as the God of Nature.

All the gentiles are obliged to go once in their life, at least, in pilgrimage, to one of the four principal pagodas; but the rich go several times, carry the idols of their places of abode in procession, attended by hundreds of people, and Bramens, who, with long fans made of peacock's feathers, drive away the flies from the idol lying on the bier.

Three days before an eclipse happens, the Bramens having notice of it, break all the earthen vessels, to use new ones afterwards, and run all of them to the river to boil rice, and other things, and throw it in for the fishes, and crocodiles, when they find the fortunate hour is come, by their magical books, and several figures they make on the ground with the noise of drums, and latten plates they beat. They cast themselves into the river to wash whilst the eclipse lasts; the Bramens attend the richest persons with clean cloths to dry them, and then make them sit down on a piece of structure six spans square, daubed all about with liquid cow's dung, that the pismires may not run upon it in danger of being burnt, whilst they dress the rice, and other pulse. They cover several figures made with powdered lime, on that square with the same dung, and then lay on two or three small sticks of wood to burn several blades of grain, with a great deal of butter, and from the manner of the flame to judge what plenty of rice, and other corn that year will afford.

The chief Divalis, or festivals are two, when the moon decreases in October, and when she increases in March. All those heathen sorcerers work wonders by the help of the devil, but particularly their jugglers and tumblers, who, without all doubt, deceive the eye. They plant the stone of any fruit, and within two hours the tree grows up, blossoms, and bears ripe fruit. Others lay the eggs under the hen, and hatch them at the same time, which can be nothing but mere illusion. But I never saw it.

The princes of Asia that are idolaters, are the kings of Cochin-china, Tunkin, Aracan, Pegu, Siam, China, and several chams in great Tartary, in the islands the king of Japan, and Ceylon, and some Regulus of the Molucco Islands, as also all the rajas in the Mogul's empire, but of several sects, some less superstitious than others.

#### 4. THE AUTHOR CONTINUES THE ACCOUNT OF WHAT HE SAW IN THE CAMP OF GALGOLA

HAVING desired a Christian captain of Agra, to let me know when an opportunity offered of seeing the king of Bijapur, he sent on Tuesday the 22nd of March, to appoint me to be at his tent in the morning, that we might go together to the king's quarters to satisfy my curiosity. I went accordingly, and he being ready, we both set out. Being come to the king's tents, we waited for him to pass by, to go pay his respects to the Great Mogul. In short, within an hour I saw the unhappy king, whose name was Sikander, come with a handsome retinue. He was a sprightly youth 29 years of age, of a good stature, and olive coloured complexion. Aurangzeb deprived him of his liberty and kingdom, as he did him of Golconda, in the year 1685 (1687?) upon pretence that he had given Shivaji passage through his country, which he could not have hindered, if he would. The true original of the king of Bijapur's misfortunes

was, that the queen being left a widow, and without children, Shivaji, who was offended at the king deceased, for having caused his father Shahaji Bhonsle, then captain of the guards to die in a goal, took the field with a small army of scoundrels; and soon made himself master of the fortresses of Rajapur, Rajgad, Kharepatan, Dabhol, and part of Malabar. Some think that raising the fortifications of Rajgad, he there found a great treasure, which enabled him to continue the war. The queen finding herself in that condition, thought it convenient during the minority of Sikander, whom she had adopted for her son, and bred up in the doctrine of Hali, before the king's death, to make a peace, though dishonourable, leaving to Shivaji, the country he had conquered yet to hold of her, and to pay half the revenue as tribute.

At the same time Pam Nayak, who was tributary to the same crown, took up arms to shake off that yoke, relying on the natural strength of his country, lying between 27 inaccessible mountains, called sattaipalli, among which there are villages, and lands tilled by gentiles of the vile tribe of Frasses. Aurangzeb seeing the forces of the kingdom, amounting to 30,000 horse, and as many foot, employed against these rebels, he laid hold of the opportunity, and besieged the city and castle of Bijapur, which he took after a vigorous defence of three years, made by Sidi Masud, a black, who governed during the king's minority, and carried away Sikander prisoner, to whom he afterwards allowed a million of rupees a year, to maintain him decently.

Tana-shah, king of Golconda, who, in my time was sixty years of age, had the same misfortune. His general Mir Jumla being disgusted, invited Aurangzeb to invade the kingdom through his means. The ambitious Mogul hasted thither, but notwithstanding his intelligence with the traitor, could not compass his design, and was forced to return to his country with dishonour. He afterwards again attempted the fortress of Golconda, but the besieged making a resolute defence, and an army of 70,000 horse, and as many foot keeping Aurangzeb's army in the field within bounds, both sides thought fit to conclude a peace on this condition, that Mahmud, son to Aurangzeb, should take the king of Golconda's daughter to

wife, and receive the kingdom as a dowry, after the father's death

When the war with Akbar was concluded, Shah Alam was sent with a powerful army, to attack Golconda anew, but he either thinking the conquest difficult, or overcome by Tana-shah's promises, to give him his daughter in marriage, and assist him to secure his father's throne, so managed affairs, that he obtained his father's consent to settle peace, and though afterwards he received never so many repeated commands, could never be prevailed on to return to the siege, but casting his scimiter at his feet, told him, he was a Musulman, and could not break the peace he had promised to keep

Shah Alam thus refusing, Aurangzeb marched in person, after he had conquered the kingdom of Bijapur, with a mighty army to besiege Golconda. At his first coming, he secured the pass on the river, and Bhagnagar, where the palace was, and then without staying to fortify it, by the advice of the Franks he had in his service, who gave me this relation, he went on to besiege the fortress, whither the king was retired. This being built with vast great stones, and encompassed with a deep ditch, held out a siege of nine months, though battered by many pieces of cannon, and particularly by three pieces of such a prodigious bigness, that each of them was drawn by 500 elephants, and 200 oxen, if we may believe what the soldiers told me, for they could make but a small breach in a fort that was not enclosed with walls, but with a rock. At length, want of provisions, and distempers that raged in the place, besides the presents and promises Aurangzeb made, did not only prevail with the defendants to desert to him by degrees, letting themselves down from the wall with ropes in the night, but corrupted the governor, who surrendered the fortress against the king's will, he offering to pay a tribute of three millions, and 7,00 000 rupees, which Aurangzeb refused, entering the place victorious in the year 1686. Azam Shah carried away the king prisoner, who having a collar of inestimable value on, presented it to him, but his father Aurangzeb perceiving he carried him on an elephant, cried out to him, because he had not bound his hands behind him. The son answered, that he was a king, and he ought to be satisfied with depriving him of

his kingdom and liberty. Having shut him up in the fort of Daulatabad, the Mogul allowed him a wretched maintenance of 20 rupees a day; but a son being born to him in prison, which he never had whilst on his throne, in pity to the infant born at such an unfortunate time, he raised his allowance to 500 rupees a day.

Pam Nayak, who had with considerable forces assisted the Mogul in conquering the kingdom, was rewarded with death, upon very slight jealousies, which enraging his son, he refused to pay the tribute, and retired among inaccessible mountains; but a few years after, the greater power prevailing, he submitted to pay tribute, and receive a governor appointed by the Mogul into his dominions.

Wednesday 23rd, I dined with the captain of Agra, who treated me very handsomely, after the country manner. Thursday 24th, I was conducted to a neighbouring pagoda, to see a penitent, who held up his arms, the joints being hardened, or knit together so that he had no use of them. Friday 25th, I looked out for some company to go back with me to Goa, because the Begarian of St. Stephen and my interpreter were both fled; but could find none. I spent my time in vain on Saturday, also seeking for company.

## 5. THE AUTHOR'S RETURN TO GOA THE SAME WAY HE CAME

THE season was now so far advanced that to spend any more time at Galgala would have made me slip the opportunity of going over to China, therefore bearing patiently with my Indian's running away, I made the best of it, and resolved to venture all alone through a country invested with robbers and enemies of Christianity. Having heard Mass on Sunday 27th, I mounted but very melancholy, and believing when I came at night to Edoar, I should find the caravan of oxen for Bardes,

or some Christian of Goa, was disappointed of both. Setting out hence on Monday 28th, I came before noon to the village to Rodelki, where desiring a gentile by signs to make me a cake of bread, the knave instead of wheaten flower made it of machini, which is a black seed, that makes a man giddy, and so ill tasted, that a dog would not eat it. Whilst it was hot necessity made me eat that bread of sorrow; but could not swallow it cold, though I had none for three days. At night I lay near the pagoda of Mamdapur.

Tuesday 29th, meeting the caravan of oxen beyond Onor, I travelled with it till sun-set; but being necessitated to alight, and the caravan going on, I lost sight of it, the night growing dark. Then being left alone in the open field, without anything to eat, or place to take shelter, and in much dread of robbers, I laid me down among the bushes.

Wednesday 30th, when day appeared, I went on alone without any knowledge of the road, but what the track of the oxen showed, and come betimes to Belgaum. This city though made up of mud houses thatched, is very populous, because of its trade. It has a large bazar and a good fort, considering it belongs to Moors, all built of stone, and encompassed with a deep ditch full of water; but it has little cannon in proportion to its bigness, and garrison. Here I expected to have found the caravan of oxen belonging to S. Stephen, or at least to hear some news of it, but nobody understanding me, I was disappointed. Thursday the last of the month, a Moor conceiving what I could not express, conducted me to Shahapur, a mile thence, where I found the caravan, ready to set out for Bardes. The Canarines belonging to it, who were subjects to Portugal showed me a great deal of kindness; and finding I was spent with three days want, plentifully provided me with fowl and rice, but could get no bread, because the natives do not eat any. The worst of it was, I must set out with them immediately, and though a Canarin helped to hold me a horseback, because of my weakness, yet it went very hard with me. That night we lay in a wood near the village of Jamboti, belonging to a desai or prince of the same name, the Mogul permitting some lords to possess these barren countries for a yearly tribute.

Friday the first of April, after a few hours riding we passed by some cottages, where were the officers of the custom-house

and guards of the roads, who are worse than thieves. That night we lay on the mountain, near some little huts of the country people; of whom I could not buy a chicken, or anything else to support me.

Saturday 2nd, we went down the steep and tedious mountain of Balagati, and travelled all day through Shivaji's country. The guards, who like banditti lay skulking about the woods, stopped me, and by signs asked whether I could shoot out of a musket, or understood the art of gunnery; and answering by signs that I did not, they at last let me go, fearing the Portuguese should stop their people at Goa, because I passed for a Portuguese. Having travelled a few miles further, we lay in the field, and had an ill night of it, near a lake.

Sunday 3rd, being Easter-day, after several hours travelling, we passed by the Mogul's guards and custom-house. There I was again detained, not because they had any need of gunners or soldiers, but to make me pay toll like a beast; at length some idolaters telling them, the Portuguese, who were but a musket shot from thence would do the same, they let me go.

I went away to Tivi, and thence to Fort S. Michael, where the Castellan and his wife perceiving I was sick, would not suffer me to go any further; but by all means would have me be their guest; sending away immediately to Pumburpa, a farm of the Theatins for a ballon, or andora to carry me to Goa.

As the ballon or boat was coming, an unmannerly Portuguese soldier carried it away by force, and there being no andora to be had, returning thanks to the captain and his wife, for the favour they had showed me, I desired them to order a soldier to bear me company to the aforesaid farm. They were much displeased at the Portuguese rudeness, and caused his captain to punish him, and perceiving I would stay no longer with them, sent a soldier of the castle to convoy me, who brought me to Pumburpa on Monday the 4th at sun-setting. Here I was very lovingly received by the factor, who gave me a good supper, and after it an easy bed to rest me.

Tuesday 5th, I crossed the canal in a ballon or boat, and returned to Goa to the aforementioned monastery of Fathers in a very ill condition. The Father prefect seeing me so sick, told me that had happened because I would not take his advice, I

answered *Heu Patior telis vulnera facta meis* (Alas I am suffering from wounds inflicted by my own missiles). Both he and F. Hippolitus endeavoured to recover me with good fowls, to which the best sauce was their kindness, and thus I recovered my fitting spirits. Weakness obliged me on Wednesday 6th to hire four boes, or porters to carry me in an andora, to see what remained worth observing in Goa. They were all four satisfied with 15 pardaos, which are worth six crowns of Naples a month.

Thursday 7th, I went to visit the body of S. Francis Xavierius, at the church of Bon-Jesu, or Good Jesus, being the professed house of the Jesuits. The church is indifferent large and arched, but has nothing of good architecture, being more like a great hall than a church. It has an high altar, with two on the sides all well gilt, and on the left a chapel where the precious body of S. Francis lies. It was in a crystal coffin, within another of silver, on a pedestal of stone, but they expected a noble tomb of porphyry stone, from Florence, ordered to be made by the Great Duke. Since, with the Pope's leave, the saint's arm was cut off, the rest of the body has decayed, as if he had resented it; and therefore the Jesuits for nine years past, do not show it to any but the viceroy, and some other persons of quality. Being told as much at my first coming to Goa, I so far prevailed, as to have the viceroy use his power with the provincial, and he not knowing how to refuse him, would at least defer the favour till that morning; showing me the holy body, with the church shut, clothed in its habit, which is changed every year.

Friday 8th, I went to see the church of the Italian Carmelites, on a pleasant hill. Though small, it is very beautiful, and arched as are all the churches in India, with 6 chapels, and an high altar, well gilt. The monastery is handsome and well contrived, with excellent cloisters and cells, and a delicious garden, in which there are Chinese palm-trees which yield a pleasing shade, with their low and thick leaves. There are also two cinnamon trees, like that of Ceylon. At present it is decayed from what it was, before the Italian Fathers were confined by the king's order, because only one Portuguese Father cannot take so much pains. The first had been again received into favour, but four of them died at sea, coming from Portugal.



Saturday 9th, there being some apprehension of the coming of Arabian ships, all the religious men and priests went down armed by order of the archbishop to the fort of Aguada, to make good that pass among the soldiers.

Sunday 10th, I went to pay my respects to the viceroy, who received me very courteously, and discoursed with me in French about two hours, about news from Europe and Asia, and when I took my leave made me very civil offers.

Monday 11th, the Commadore, a small vessel, and a fireship sailed out of the harbour for the Gulf of Persia, to assist the king of Persia against the Imam of Muscat, who, with five ships had burnt the Portuguese factory, and several houses; robbed the custom-house, and carried away four pieces of cannon there were in the fort, with the Arms of Spain on them, brought thither from Ormus. The king of Persia had then 90,000 men ready to send into Arabia Felix, against the Imam

There are three palaces at Goa, for the use of the viceroy. The chief of them, called the fort, near the church of the Theatins, and Vasco de Gama's gate, has the prospect of the channel, and consists of excellent apartments, and a royal chapel. In the hall of it are the pictures of all the viceroys, and governors of India, and in another all the ships and vessels that ever came out of Portugal, since the first discovery of those countries. In the same are kept the courts of judicature, or exchequer, and others, and they coin money, such as pardaos of silver, and St. Thomases, and pardaos of gold. The small money is made of a metal brought from China, which is neither copper, nor latten, nor lead, nor pewter, but a substance differing from them all, not known in Europe, and called tutunaga, which they say has some mixture of silver. The Chineses use it to make great guns, mixing it with brass. Of this, as was said, they make a very low sort of coin at Goa, called bazaruccos, 375 whereof make a pardao, whose value is four carlines of Naples; and yet any small matter, or fruit may be bought for one of these.

The viceroys do not live in the aforesaid palace, because of the ill air, but in that called polvereira, or the powder-house, two miles from it, at the entrance of the city, as was said elsewhere. Being at first designed to make powder in, it was not then fit

to entertain a viceroy, but has been enlarged by degrees. The third is the fort of Pangl, near the fort of Gaspar Diaz. The viceroys have not lived in it for many years past, and at present the garrison soldiers are quartered in it.

Tuesday 12th, news was brought of the loss of a ship of the Portuguese fleet, which had run upon some rocks in the port of Varsava. My Armenian servant being indisposed, I purged him with the excellent rhubarb I bought in Persia, where the best in the world grows, and he was soon well.

Wednesday 13th, I went with the Fathers to divert me at the farm of Pumburpa, and Thursday 14th, enjoyed the good company of some friends that came thither from Goa. Friday 15th, we went a walking in the noviciate of the Fathers of the Society, opposite to the said country house. Walking there on Saturday 16th, I pittied so many poor Christians and idolaters, who live in wretched cottages under the coco-trees, to make them fruitful, man's breath helping them to bear, without hopes of ever removing with their family from the place where they are born, because if they go to another place, their masters bring them back by force, worse than if they were slaves. Sunday 17th, after dinner, we went to see a farm of the Augustinians close by, where an ingenious Father had built a good house, and furnished it handsomely.

Monday 18th, we went a fishing on the channel, which does not only abound in all other sorts, but several kinds of shell fish, and particularly oisters, so large that the very fish of some of them weighs half a pound, but they are not so well tasted as ours. The Portuguese use the shells in their windows instead of glass, making them thin, and transparent. Tuesday 19th, *after dinner, we returned to Goa.*

Wednesday 20th, two vessels from Macao, loaded with Chinese commodities arrived in the port; and Thursday 21st, I went aboard one of them, called the Pumburpa, to see several rarities it brought. Friday 22nd, I went in an andora, to visit our Lady del Cabo, or of the Cape, standing on the point of the island of Goa, where the Franciscans have a good church and monastery. Here night overtaking me, I was forced to lie in the monastery, and returned to Goa, on Saturday 23rd.

Sunday 24th, I heard Mass at the Augustinians, to visit my friend and fellow-traveller for several months F. Francis of

St. Joseph. Monday 25th, I went over to divert myself to a little country house, seated on the island of Bardez, where on Tuesday 26th, I saw the convoy of several vessels return from Canara, with a good stock of rice, because the islands of Goa do not produce enough. Wednesday 27th, I took the air in a boat upon the channel.

Thursday 28th, was the procession of Corpus Christi, which is made here with much solemnity in April, because of the storms, and great rains in June. Before it went a soldier a horse-back in bright armour. Then followed an image of St. George in wood, about which some persons in masks danced and after them six canons, with six silver maces, and lastly, six gentlemen carried the canopy.

Friday 29th, I went to see a lion brought the viceroy from Mozambique, who was about to send it as a present to the emperor of China. And still continuing to divert myself after my late sufferings, on Saturday, the last of the month I saw the powder-house, where they were then actually making powder.

Sunday the first of May, I went to the cathedral to hear some indifferent music, on account of the festival of St. Philip and Jacob, and Monday 2nd, dined with F. Francis, being invited by him, because the time of my departure drew near. On Tuesday 3rd, F. Hippolitus Visconte took care to change what money I had into pieces of eight, because there is a great deal lost by carrying gold into China, and a Portuguese merchant well skilled in that trade, made a small purchase of diamonds for me, they being cheap at Goa. Wednesday 4th, I went with F. Salvador Galli, F. Visconti, and the general of Salsette, to speak to Jerom Vasconcellos, captain of the vessel called The Holy Rosary, bound for China. For their sakes he undertook to carry me, but refusing to find me provisions for my money, I was forced on Thursday 5th, to lay in a stock for so long a voyage. Friday 6th, I went to the church of the Miraculous Cross, to beg of God a good voyage, and Saturday 7th diverted myself on the channel. Sunday 8th, some friends dined with me, and Monday 9th, I dined with F. Francis, and after drinking to my good voyage, we took leave of one another with much concern. Tuesday 10th, I went to the powder-house to pay my respects to the viceroy, and desire him to give

me a letter of recommendation to the general of China. He granted it very civilly, offering to do me any other kindness.

My Armenian servant refusing to go to China, on Wednesday 11th, I bought a Cafre, or black slave for eighteen pieces of eight, and there being a necessity to get a licence to ship him off, because we were to touch at Malacca, where the Dutch heretics command, I went on Thursday 12th, to the inquisitors to have it passed. They made a great difficulty of granting it, and dispensing with the prohibition they themselves had been authors of, alleging that some Cafres, who had been shipped at other times, being taken, had turned Mahometans. Friday 13th, I took leave of my friends, the vessel being already fallen down to the mouth of the channel, in order to sail very speedily, and Saturday 14th, having returned thanks, and bid adieu to the Fathers Theatins, I went aboard with my goods. There speaking to the captain, to order my equipage and provisions to be taken aboard, he ordered it to be delivered to the master's mate, for him to dispose of it as the pilot should direct, he having undertaken to keep me by the way, I putting my provision to his. This done, I returned to the farm of Pumburpa, to have the satisfaction of lying ashore one night longer.

Sunday 15th, I went over to the island Chorao, where the novitiate of the Jesuits is, to hear Mass. Meeting there with some Italian fathers, who were bound for China, aboard the same vessel, they very civilly showed me all the house. The church is small, and has three altars well gilt, but the sacristy has curious chests of drawers about it made of Indian wood, varnished, with the apostles painted on it. The house is small, and the cells for thirty novices very little. I dined in the farm of the Augustinians, and lay that night in that of the Theatins.

## 6. THE AUTHOR'S VOYAGE TO MALACA

MONDAY 16th, the vessel being under sail I went aboard. Towards evening came aboard F. Emanuel Ferreira, a Portu-

guese, missionary to Tongking, who wore a reverend long beard. F. Joseph Condomi, a Sicilian, going to his mission of Cochinchina, which Fathers had been summoned to Rome, by Holiness Pope Innocent the 11th, because they had refused obey the French bishops and vicars apostolic in those kingdoms, to the great scandal of the Christians, who saw the church-men excommunicate one another, and eight other Jesuits of several nations, who were going to China; besides others who went in the vessel of the merchants of Goa, called Pumphurpa, which carried the lion above mentioned.

The Fathers of the society are in such esteem and reputation in India, that at night the viceroy came to visit those that were aboard the two ships, and stayed till midnight in these two visits. Laying hold of this opportunity, he himself recommended me to the captain, telling him, I was a curious gentleman that travelled only to see the world, and therefore he should use me well. His recommendation had but little effect, because the captain, who was bred in China, had quite forgot the Portuguese civility, which in all places I found they practise more towards me, than towards their own country-men, nor did he value another man's merit, or qualifications. As soon as the viceroy was gone they weighed anchor, and the vessels were towed by several paraos, which are long boats with six oars, and hallons, which are smaller, the city pilots being aboard, to carry the vessels beyond the flat, which is before the fort of Gaspar Diaz, near which we lay all Tuesday, because the wind blew hard.

Wednesday 18th, the same wind continuing, and the city pilots having no hopes it would fall, weighed anchor two hours before day, and began to have the ships towed again by the ballons and paraos. But the wind rising, to avoid the rocks they both run upon the sand. There being danger that the ship might split at the flood, it being then ebb, every one endeavoured to carry off his goods, especially money, and get it ashore; and it would go hard with the city pilots, if on the vessels were stranded, and they did not fly. I put my baggage aboard a coaster, and leaving my slave with my provisions went to Goa for a new licence from the inquisition, to put the black aboard the coaster, in case the ships that were stranded

should be rendered unfit to perform their voyage; which I got with some difficulty for the reasons above alleged.

Whilst I was still at Goa, the viceroy gathering abundance of paraos and ballons, went in person to get off the vessels with the flood, which being done, they came up again to take in as much water as they had thrown overboard to lighten themselves. The honest pilot, and master's mate of our ship had also thrown over the passengers' provision and fruit; but not their own, which afterwards they did eat till they were ready to crack. Taking leave again of the Fathers Galli and Visconti, I returned aboard with my baggage, but was not told they had thrown overboard three great baskets of wine full of mangoes, for had I known it, I would have provided other fruit.

We got not out on Thursday 19th, through the fault of the city pilots, but about break of day, on Friday 20th, the wind blowing fair at N.W. our vessel called the Rosary, the Pumburpa, and four coasters put out to sea. The Jesuits, as they were the first that went off, so would they be the last to return aboard. The same fair wind continued Saturday 21st, and Sunday 22nd.

Monday 23rd, the pilots by observation found we were in the latitude of Cochin. We had great rains, and stormy winds every day and night, but they did not last above an hour. They call these tempests Sumatras, from the island of that name. Holding on our course south on Tuesday 24th, the pilots judged we were in the latitude of Cape Comorin, which is like that of Good Hope. It is to be observed that in this place they find a most unaccountable work of nature, which is, that at the same time it is winter at Goa, and all along that coast, it is summer upon all the opposite coast, as far as the kingdom of Golconda, and thus in a few hours they go from winter to summer, which is experimentally known to be true every day, by the natives of Madura, Turaiyar Tanjore, Gingee, Madras, the people of the Nayaks, and other pagan princes.

Wednesday 25th, making an observation we found ourselves in the latitude of Cape Galli in the island of Ceylon, which was joyful news to all aboard, as being then sure they should continue their voyage; for had the south wind started up before

we reached that place, we could have gone no further, but must have run away to northward, as happened to two ships of China, which set out in the year 1693, and put in to refit after the storm, the one at Daman, and the other at Bombay. On the contrary being once in the latitude of Cape Galli, no wind could put us by our voyage. We were here according to the pilot's computation 600 miles from Goa.

The island of Ceylon besides its rich cinnamon, which is carried all the world over, has the best elephants, as was said above, and a mountain that produces rock crystal, of which at Goa they make buttons, beads, and other things.

Thursday 26th, we found ourselves in the latitude of 6 degrees opposite to the Bay of Bengal; and all the mouths of the river Ganges running into it, whilst at the same time the natural current of the water is from south to north, that sea is very rough. This made the ship often lie athwart the waves, and kept us all continually watching for fear. This kingdom of Bengal is accounted the most fruitful the Mogul has, by reason of its rivers. It has a great trade for silk, calico, and other stuffs. Finding ourselves in this latitude we stood to the eastward, and on Friday 27th, were off the Maldivé Islands. Saturday 28th, the same fair wind continued, but with the same rowling. Sunday 29th, the wind held on, and a sailor dying was thrown overboard. Monday 30th, we were becalmed, but Tuesday the last of the month the wind came up again, blew harder on Wednesday the first of June, and held fair on Thursday 2nd.

Friday 3rd, we were in sight of the island of Nicobar, the wind blowing fresher. This island pays a tribute of a certain number of human bodies to the island of Andaman, to be eaten by the natives of it. These brutes rather than men, use when they have wounded an enemy, to run greedily to suck the blood that runs. The Dutch are witnesses of this cruelty of theirs; for they going with 5 ships to subdue them and landing 800 men, though they were well entrenched to defend themselves against those wild people, yet they were most of them killed, very few having the good fortune to fly to their ships.

Sieur Francis Coutinho, general of Salsette, told me that the chief motive the Dutch had to attempt the conquest of that

island, was a report spread abroad, that there was a well in that island, whose water converted iron into gold, and was the true philosopher's stone. The ground of this rumour was, an English ship putting into that island after a dreadful storm, where they observed that a little water which an islander carried being split upon an anchor, that part of it which was wet with it, turned into gold; and asking him where he had that water, he told them out of a well in the island, after which they killed him. I can neither affirm nor deny that there is such a well; but only declare this story was told me by F. Emanuel Ferreira, and by Continho a knight of the Order of Christ, before F. Galli at Goa, who had also heard of it before. No man in Europe or Asia can give any more certain account of it, because those people have no commerce with any nation in the world.



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